The Outlook

Volume 138 October 29, 1924 Number 9

Campaign Funds

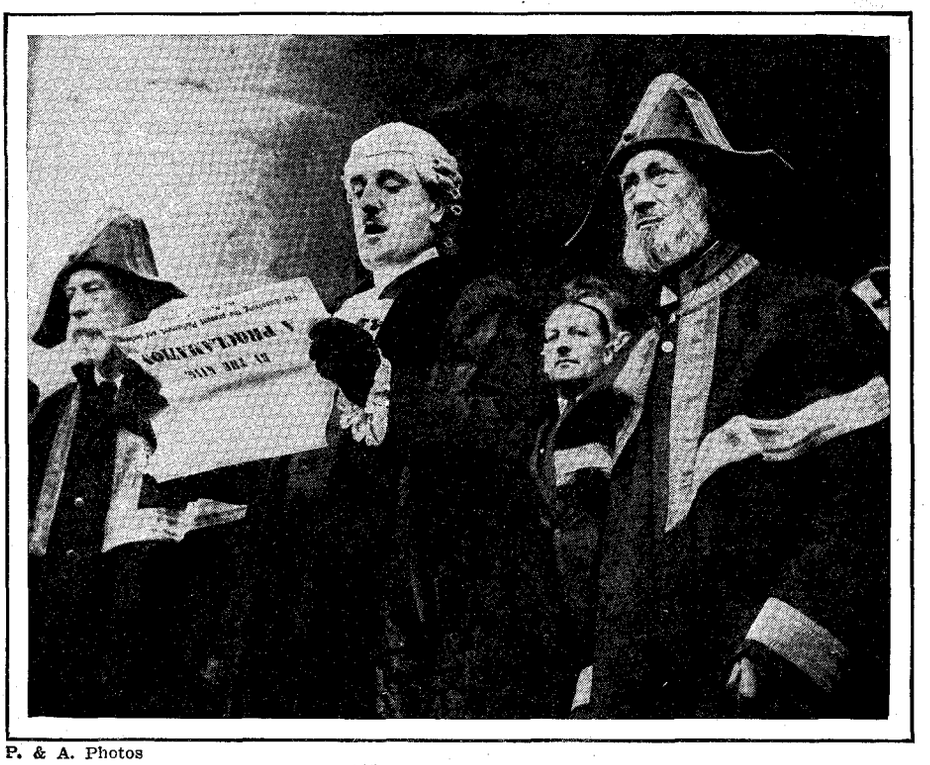
THE Senate Committee for the investigation of campaign expenditures, called together by Chairman Borah at the request of Senator La Follette, has not thus far uncovered anything that even remotely resembles the gigantic "slush fund" which Senator La Follette—as far as he could do so—had led the public to expect. The Committee has adjourned, as this is written, from Chicago to Washington, and other details will be investigated, in an effort to make the inquiry as complete as possible.

Chairman Butler, of the Republican National Committee, disclosed the fact that the Republican budget called for funds of $3,000,000. The sum expended up to the time he appeared before the committee was $1,700,000. The remainder, he testified, is not in hand, and apparently may never be. It is hoped, however, to collect and expend the remaining $1,300,000. As campaigns have gone in the United States for a number of years past, this is a modest sum for expenditure in a "Presidential year." Larger funds have been expended without question of the legitimacy of their use. Chairman Butler said that, so far as he knows, no money is raised or expended except through the National Committee. Representatives of Senator La Follette insist, however, that there are expenditures through a number of other agencies.

The La Follette fund so far collected, as disclosed to the Committee, is less than $200,000. The spokesmen for the La Follette campaign were, however, decidedly indefinite as to what sums of money may have been collected and expended through other agencies. There appears, however, no evidence which could justify a belief that more money has been spent than is necessary to conduct a Presidential campaign.

No testimony was offered in Chicago as to the size of the Democratic campaign fund, consideration of that matter being reserved for the Washington hearing. It is understood that the Democratic National Committee will report collections ranging somewhere between $800,000 and $1,000,000—well within the range of reasonable and legitimate expenditure.

There is, of course, no certainty as to what testimony may later be offered, but, on the face of the first inquiry, it appears that all of the parties, instead of collecting and spending unduly large sums of money, have had to get on with rather lean finances.



P. & A. Photos

A picturesque ceremony—reading the Royal Proclamation dissolving the British Parliament, on the steps of the Royal Exchange, London

The English Elections

THE Parliamentary elections in Great Britain take place on October 29, the very day on which this paper is dated. The election campaign has been short and sharp, for Parliament was dissolved on October 9, and there have been only twenty days for the political fight. This is a contrast to our long Presidential election campaign, which has been going on for months; it must be remembered, however, that the British people are not electing a ruler or President, and their election would compare more closely to one in this country in which only members of Congress were chosen.

The issues of the British elections have not been altogether clear-cut. Recalling the last appeal to the voters, it is amusing to note that the Conservative hecklers in this campaign have encountered their opponents with the cry, "What has become of your issue of tax levy on capital?" and that the opponents have replied, "How about your famous protection issue?" One American newspaper correspondent asserts that the only real issue in this campaign is Socialism *versus* anti-Socialism. In a sense this may be so, but the Socialism of MacDonald is far removed from the Communism and Bolshevism which he has repeatedly denounced. The dissolution of Parliament was nominally based on a vote of censure for quashing the prosecution of a Communist editor, but we judge that this matter has played no great part in the campaign itself. Neither has there been much said about the Ulster boundary question. On the other hand, the Russian treaties, which would have been completed this fall by the Labor Party if it had remained in power, have been actively discussed. There is a strong

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

feeling against too close relations with Russia or the sending of British money to Russia. On the other hand, MacDonald lays stress on the fact that the loans for the most part (three-fourths, he says) would not actually go to Russia, but would be used in Great Britain for producing machinery and goods for Russia, and therefore would help in solving the unemployment problem.

No one seems to be willing to predict that any one of the three parties will have an actual majority in Parliament, and almost all the writers indicate that there is no likelihood that the Liberal Party will increase its representation. If neither the Conservative nor the Liberal party should have an actual majority, as is probable, the same condition of no majority party will exist as before, except that notable strength in the Conservative Party would then enable its leaders to form a Government. If this happens, some observers think that there may be a working arrangement between the Conservatives and the Liberals. Unless an actual coalition is brought about such a Government would at any time be liable to be turned out by a combination of Liberal and Labor members, just as the Labor Government was turned out by a combination of Liberals and Conservatives.

All's Well in the Philippines

ABOUT a year ago the political pot was boiling and sputtering in the Philippines. In America alarmists and politicians who found agitation in the East a handy stick with which to attack the Administration declared that the fact that the pro-American party in the Philippines cast a little less than half of the total votes as against a coalition of the other two parties, and the further fact that the Philippine Legislature approved a resolution of the Philippine Independence Commission, showed that things were in a terrible condition and General Wood a failure as an administrator. Then the little flurry subsided.

Now comes a report from General Wood, as Governor-General, to the War Department. It is apparent that in the archipelago politics is dull and business is thriving. There have been no outbreaks, no excited political agitation, but there has been increasing prosperity. The unrest a year ago between Moros and non-Mohammedan Filipinos has been settled by a native peace commission. A mutinous tendency among the Filipino scouts turned out to be exaggerated and was easily settled early in the year.

What the people and the Government are interested in nowadays is the rise in the price of copra, the increase of a third in the sugar crop, and the belief of local business men that the trade of the islands is far short of its possibilities, although it has increased 700 per cent. General Wood seems far more interested in getting the Legislature to pass new land laws and constructive measures generally than in the extent of agitation for independence. And it is evident that the sooner the islands are unitedly striving to be permanently industrious and progressive and the less they are concerned about the fiery eloquence of those who want to run while they should be learning to walk steadily forward, the quicker will come the day of real self-government.

The St. Lawrence Waterway

THE United States and Canada, apparently, are on the point of agreement on the problems involved in the St. Lawrence waterways project. Secretary of State Hughes recently sent a note to the British Embassy which reveals the fact that there is complete agreement between the two Governments as to instructions to be given the joint investigating board of engineers except upon a single point. This exception is, perhaps, not of great importance, and the difference of views will doubtless be adjusted. The American Government would have the engineers consider the extent to which water is or will be diverted to the Canadian side from Lake Erie and the Niagara River as a compensation for diversions from Lake Michigan to the American side. The Canadian Government is "unable to accept" this proposed amendment to the instructions to be given the engineers.

While Secretary Hughes says that he thinks it probably would not be wise to consider the power value of diversions from Lake Michigan without at the same time considering the power value of other diversions, he says that "the American Government is quite willing to have the joint board of engineers develop the facts with respect to any phase of the St. Lawrence problem with a view to arriving at an equitable adjustment of the rights and interests of the two countries." The American Government, he tells the British Embassy, is prepared to instruct the American representatives on the joint board of engineers to proceed with the consideration and investigation of matters covered by the recommendations of the technical officers, leaving this one question for further consideration.

The difficulty over diversions doubtless comes in the main from the complications brought about by the existence of the Chicago Drainage Canal, by which water from Lake Michigan is diverted into the Illinois River for the purpose of sewage disposal from the city of Chicago. This is one of the world's great engineering feats, but there has always been a question of whether or not the drain on the waters of the Lakes and the St. Lawrence was justifiable. At the time the work was done there was objection to it, also, on the ground of stream pollution. But it was apparently necessary to the sanitary welfare of the second largest city of America, and, the pollution not proving as objectionable as was by some expected, the whole matter was generally lost sight of until it bobbed up in connection with the St. Lawrence waterways project.

The Los Angeles and Commerce

NOW that the ZR-3 (hereafter, Secretary Wilbur announces, to be known as the Los Angeles) has been safely housed in the Lakehurst hangar after her record-breaking voyage from Friedrichshafen of 5,066 miles in 81 hours 17 minutes, and now that the German builders, officers and crew, as well as the American observers on the airship, have been duly praised and fêted, discussion is on as to the possible future of this type of aircraft.

It is natural that her commander on the voyage, Hugo Eckener, head of the Zeppelin company, should be sanguine in his views of the expansion of the use of the airship for commercial and mail-carrying purposes. He believes that a regular line of service between New York and Los Angeles may be carried on with financial success, although he gives no actual figures as to the relation of cost to service. The great east-to-west stretch of the United States seems to him to make this country better fitted than most others for long-distance air commerce, yet he points out that transatlantic voyages would have no rail competition and that there would be other advantages.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nothing can seem foul to those that win

(1 Henry IV, Act V, Scene 1)

Orr in the Chicago Tribune

Copyright, 1924, by the Chicago Tribune

Waiting for a fumble

From W. G. Brown, Evanston, Illinois

Darling in the Philadelphia North American

BUT ROBERT IF YOU DID CATCH ALL THE FISH THERE ARE LEFT YOU WOULDN'T HAVE ENOUGH TO MAKE A MESS!
I WOULDNT EH?
SOLID SOUTH
COOLIDGE
DAVIS
LAFOLLETTE
CALIFORNIA

Well, a "Mess." Yes, just exactly that

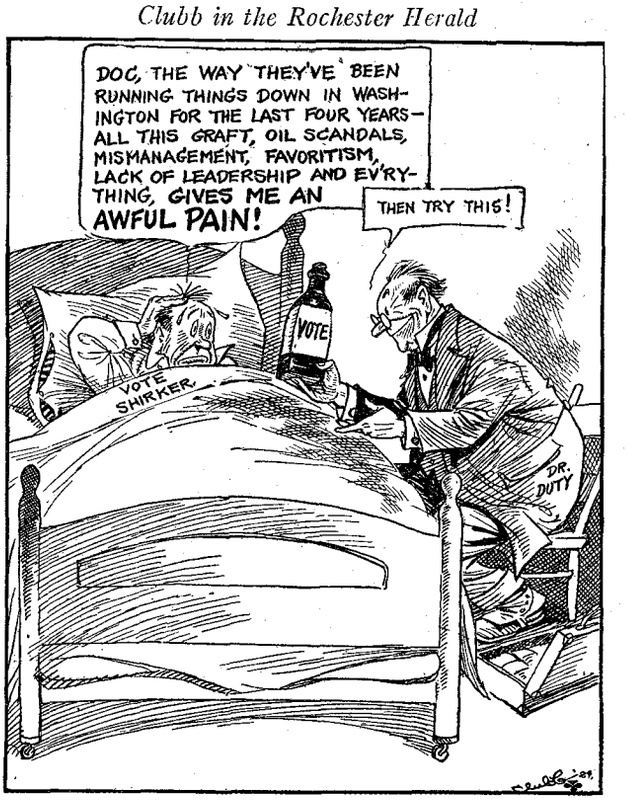
From Mrs. C. C. George, West Chester, Pennsylvania

Dorman H. Smith in the Anderson (Indiana) Daily Bulletin

Stumped!

From William D. Fall, Alexandria, Indiana

Clubb in the Rochester Herald


DOC, THE WAY THEY'VE BEEN RUNNING THINGS DOWN IN WASHINGTON FOR THE LAST FOUR YEARS— ALL THIS GRAFT, OIL SCANDALS, MISMANAGEMENT, FAVORITISM, LACK OF LEADERSHIP AND EV'RYTHING, GIVES ME AN AWFUL PAIN!
THEN TRY THIS!
VOTE
VOTE SHIRKER
DR. DUTY

The only remedy

From Mrs. F. C. White, Newark, New York

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

International

The ZR-3 in her old home—flying over the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin

The present type he considers large enough for commercial work.

In reply to questions as to safety and to security from storm, Dr. Eckener said in effect that our capacity for producing helium, the use of a heavier fuel than gasoline, and greater relative speed were the requisites. As to the last he is quoted as declaring that an increase of speed of the ZR-3 of five meters per second (say thirteen miles an hour) would enable the airship to avoid any threatening storms, and eliminate the danger of its being made a plaything by fierce air-currents. Germany, according to Dr. Eckener, could make world-circling Zeppelins if only the Versailles Treaty would permit. One newspaper report ascribes to Dr. Eckener the statement that before the ZR-3 started Germany offered to put the Zeppelin to an extreme test to prove its efficiency. The offer, he said, was to fly the ZR-3 to Lakehurst, back to Germany, and again to Lakehurst. The United States declined the offer, he added.

There is little probability that the Allies will consent to a reversal of their decision that Germany may not build huge aircraft; in all probability the great Zeppelin works will be dismantled. There is too much possibility that if Germany were to be allowed to build monster airships at will the symbolism of the Los Angeles, expressed by Secretary Wilbur as standing for "peace on earth," might not permanently hold good.

The Radio Compass

We all know that the ZR-3 received aid in fog and storm from wireless and radio on shore and on ships. The safety of both ships and air vessels at sea is constantly being better insured by invention. Prominent among the methods of help is that of the radio compass or direction-finder. It has been especially useful on the Canadian coast, where it has been definitely established. The first of the direction-finder stations was built near Halifax, in 1918, and already there are four more stations about the shores of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, one at Cape Race, Newfoundland, and one at Pachena Point, Vancouver Island. In addition there are six radio beacons automatically transmitting signals for the benefit of ships possessing direction-finders of their own.

The radio compass, which was invented by Dr. Frederick Kolster, of the Bureau of Standards, Washington, during the war, simply determines the direction from which radio waves arrive at a receiving station. Under favorable conditions—that is, without natural or artificial barriers in the path of the radio waves—the impulses from a transmitting station approach the receiving station on a direct line of bearing; in other words, the direction in which the radio wave is traveling is the bearing of the transmitting station from the receiving station. The apparatus may be installed at a shore station, and the responsibility for the accuracy of the bearings devolves upon the operator; or upon the ship, in which case the ship's operator takes the bearings and the responsibility.

"What is my true bearing?" comes the query from the air; whereupon the operator works out the degrees from the station and snaps the solution back to the ship. Another station at some distance does the same, and where the lines meet is the ship's position. That is all. Under normal conditions errors are not likely to exceed two degrees.

It is when ships meet with trouble on the high seas, 300 miles or more from land, that the value of having the direction-finder on board becomes apparent. The fate of the Norwegian steamer Capto is a fair illustration. She left Narvik bound for Sydney, Cape Breton, laden with iron. A storm played cat-and-mouse with her until it finally carried away her rudder. After two days' pounding of hurricane seas several stern plates were split, causing the water to make in the after tank and eventually putting the propeller shaft out of commission. While the men labored at the pumps the wireless operator sent out his S. O. S. calls. The Furness liner Sachem happened to be within a hundred miles of the Capto, and immediately began to search in the direction she imagined her stricken sister to lie. All day she continued the futile hunt, and at nightfall the case began to look hopeless. At this point a wireless was intercepted from the steamship Montclare, which ship was equipped with direction-finding apparatus. By its aid the exact position of the Capto was learned, and at 4:30 in the morning the Sachem came up with her and took her in tow. The sea had again been outwitted by science!

A Deadly Enemy of Cattle

A disease of live stock, perhaps the most dreaded known to veterinary medicine, has appeared again in the United States, this time in Texas, almost immediately after it had been stamped out by heroic efforts in California. The malady is that known as foot-and-mouth disease. For many years the United States has built its defenses against this disease as strongly, almost, as it would against a powerful and treacherous en-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

emy nation. The machinery of defense is an exceptionally rigid quarantine law administered by the Bureau of Animal Industry of the United States Department of Agriculture.

The Texas outbreak marks the fifth time that the Bureau of Animal Industry has been called upon to repel the invader. Three times the disease appeared in live-stock marketing centers, and was not allowed to spread to the farms. Once it broke out in Chicago when a National live-stock show was in progress. All except the most optimistic feared that the invading disease had made good its landing, but the fighting force contended that, so long as the disease could be kept from spreading to the open country, it could be eradicated. It was eradicated.

After an interval of eight years the disease appeared again, and this time it was in the open country, in the rough and difficult range region of California. There even the veteran soldiers were not sure that they could triumph again. Even Dr. John R. Mohler, Chief of the Bureau of Animal Industry, who has led every fight thus far waged against foot-and-mouth disease, must have had doubts, though he did not express them publicly. Again, by complete eradication of infected herds, the disease was stamped out, only to be discovered again on the Texas ranges.

This time the treacherous enemy came in by a roundabout way that took the defensive force somewhat off its guard. The affected animals were Brahman cattle brought from India. They were not permitted to be brought in direct, but had been held over for a long period in a non-infected country. Veterinary authorities are still puzzled as to how the infection could have lain dormant so long.

Infection has been found in only two herds, and is not thought to exist elsewhere. It is still within the cordon of the defending forces, and a fifth eradication is confidently predicted. No such fear is felt as was entertained when the disease broke out in California or at the International Live-Stock Show in Chicago.

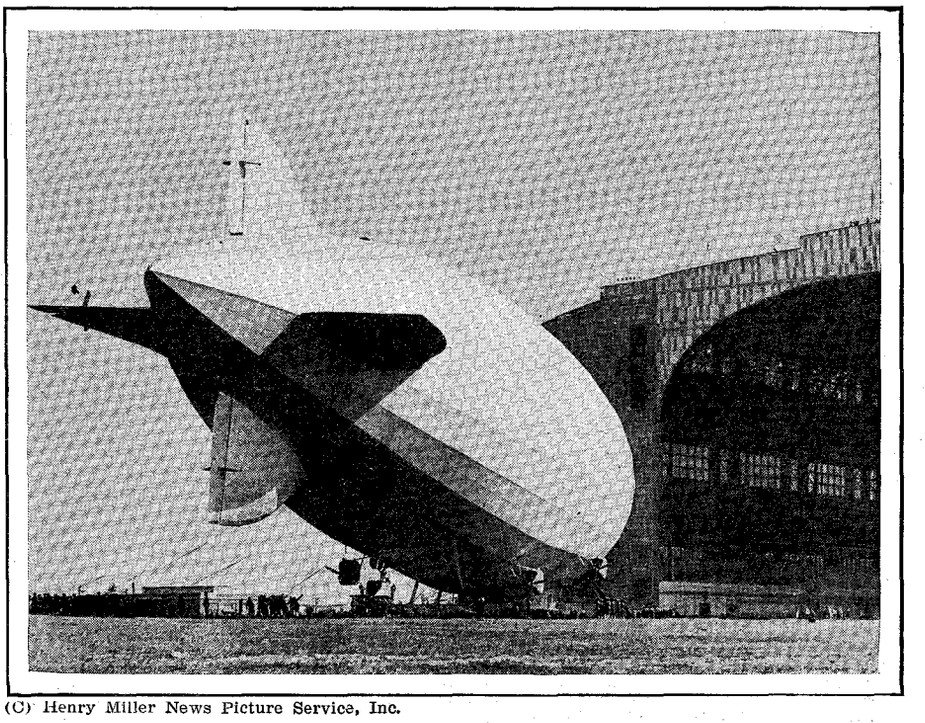
An Uncontrollable Virus

WHILE the Bureau of Animal Industry has made a marvelous record in the eradication of foot-and-mouth disease, the United States can never feel safe from this devastating animal scourge until a cure is found for it. No effort is made now to treat the disease. Ruthless destruction of all animals exposed is the only method, the specialists say, by which we can be sure of preventing such a spread of the disease that it can never be eradicated.

During the California outbreak, as on he three other appearances in the United States, scientists were anxious to make experiments with the hope of finding a cure. In the main, these were doctors of human medicine. Most doctors of veterinary medicine are willing to leave experimentation with foot-and-mouth disease to their fellows of other countries. The Department of Agriculture has steadily refused the requests of the doctors. It has just as unyieldingly refused to permit its own men, among whom are many of the most eminent scientists in America, to experiment with this disease.

The virus of this malady, it is said, cannot be controlled by any means that science has yet discovered. Under the most careful methods known to scientists, it escapes, and herds at some distance become infected. Investigations were undertaken at Alfort, France, in especially equipped buildings, but were given up because the disease spread throughout the countryside. A similar thing occurred near Berlin. The British Government undertook experiments at sea, on an old war-vessel equipped as a laboratory, but gave up in despair because it was impossible to prevent the healthy control animals from contracting the disease.

It is not good to think of exterminating patients, even animals, in order to control a disease, but the authorities are doubtless right in insisting upon this method. At least they have justified their course by so often stamping out the disease in the United States when experimentation and treatment have accomplished nothing in other countries. The United States, in fact, owes more than it realizes to its practitioners of veterinary medicine. Not only has foot-and-mouth disease been stamped out whenever it has appeared; but many dreadful diseases, such as rinderpest, have been kept out of the country entirely, mainly by the efforts of veterinary inspectors at ports of entry.



(C) Henry Miller News Picture Service, Inc.

The ZR-3 in her new home—arriving at the Naval Air Station at Lakehurst, New Jersey

Not Really Brahman, but Zebu

THE fact that so-called Brahman cattle were the bearers of the foot-and-mouth infection which caused the outbreak in Texas will probably cause surprise to most persons. It is not generally known that the cattle of India have found a home in this country. They are not widely distributed, but have served a very useful purpose on the Gulf coast and in the interior of Texas. Because of their immunity to several diseases, notably the fever caused by the cattle tick, they have been used for crossing with native stock to produce an immune breed.

The name Brahman is generally ac-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cepted by cattlemen and has been somewhat tacitly accepted even by the United States Department of Agriculture, though this use of the name clearly violates the rules of systematic nomenclature.

These cattle are of the same breed as the holy cattle of the Brahmans, but in India only white bulls are holy. Most of the cattle that come from India to the United States are gray and are not in any real sense entitled to the religious designation of Brahman. By a somewhat natural extension, however, "Brahman" has been accepted instead of "zebu," which appears to be the correct and inclusive name. The United States Department of Agriculture, for the sake of making its literature understood by the general run of cattlemen who have accepted the inaccurate name, usually writes "Brahman" with "zebu" in parentheses after it.

With some other and newer misnomers the Department has been less careful. Not long ago an association of goat ranchmen represented to the Department that goat meat is at a disadvantage in competition with beef and mutton because it lacks a name, and suggested that "chevon" be adopted as the designation of goat meat just as mutton is the designation of sheep meat. The Department's Committee on Terminology, made up of scientific specialists of scholarly attainments, declined to recommend acceptance of the term. Secretary Wallace decided, however, to accept it and promulgated it through a press notice.

The producers of goat meat, it is to be feared, will find themselves saddled with a name which may not be entirely satisfactory. "Chevon" is based, of course, on the French word for goat, but it appears not improbable that the casual diner, confronted with the word "chevon" on a menu card, will be quite as likely to think of horse meat as of goat meat. It might as easily come from *cheval* as from *chèvre*.

It is no easy task, however, to give good standing to an utter stranger in word society. "Chevon" is not likely to be generally accepted, at least until the Department's Committee on Terminology has recommended it to the lexicographers.

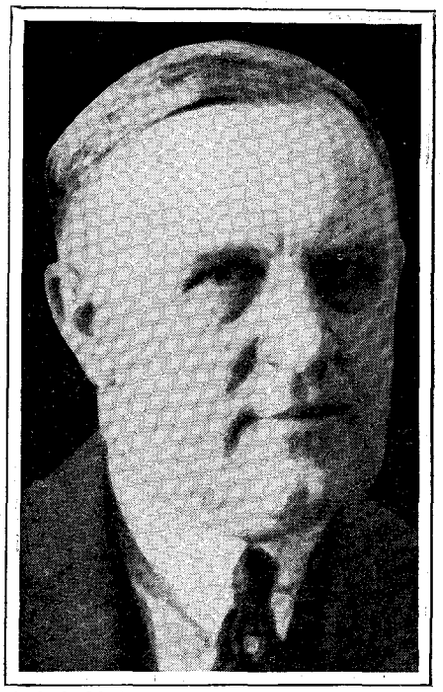
By the way, we recommend "Brahman," "zebu," and "chevon" to the cross-word-puzzle makers.

The Starving Deer

SOMETIMES destruction of animal life is the best way to save animal life. This paradox was illustrated long ago when the elk in certain Northwestern districts were allowed to increase so excessively under protection that they starved to death in very large numbers in the winter months. Early last winter Dr. George Bird Grinnell, whose love of animal life and interest in animal preservation are known everywhere, called attention in The Outlook to the danger that threatened the great herd of deer in the Kaibab Game Reserve in Arizona. He then predicted that if measures were not taken to reduce the deer in number, so that the vegetation upon which they subsisted might renew itself, either by allowing hunters to lessen the number or by the killing of a certain proportion by the Government employees, these herds of deer would suffer terribly from starvation.

Now Dr. Grinnell informs us that just what he predicted is in immediate prospect. There are something like fifty thousand head of these deer; of course they are not hunted; their natural food has been consumed; they will probably perish in great numbers. Some amusement has been caused in the newspapers by the offer of the Government to give away deer (and also, we believe, some buffalo) to any towns or villages for their collections of animals, or even to private individuals. There certainly seemed something amusing about the idea of a man sending to the Government for a mule-deer or a buffalo to put in his pasture. There was much more intelligence in the plan, however, than was generally accorded to it by the humorous writers; for the main purpose was to furnish the animals for stocking purposes where needed. A committee, made up of J. B. Burnham of the American Game Association, Heyward Cutting of the Boone and Crockett Club, T. Gilbert Pearson of the National Audubon Societies, and Mr. Tomlinson of the National Live Stock Association, went to the Kaibab Plateau to investigate the situation and recommended, first, that the offer of the animals as gifts should be made; second, that if this had no adequate effect, hunters should be allowed in the forests under supervision; and, third, if this were not enough, that some of the animals be officially killed. The condition in which the committee found the animals was exactly that foretold in our article in The Outlook for January 30 last. The deer were excessively numerous, they were in very poor condition and thin, and food for them was almost entirely lacking.

It will seem to many lovers of animals of the sentimental kind cruel in the extreme to take such radical action as reducing the number of deer in this reservation by death, but this is recommended only as a last resort, and those whose love of animal life is intelligent and not merely sentimental will realize that unless some better course can be suggested to prevent the suffering and slow starvation of these thousands of animals, this is the right course to be taken.



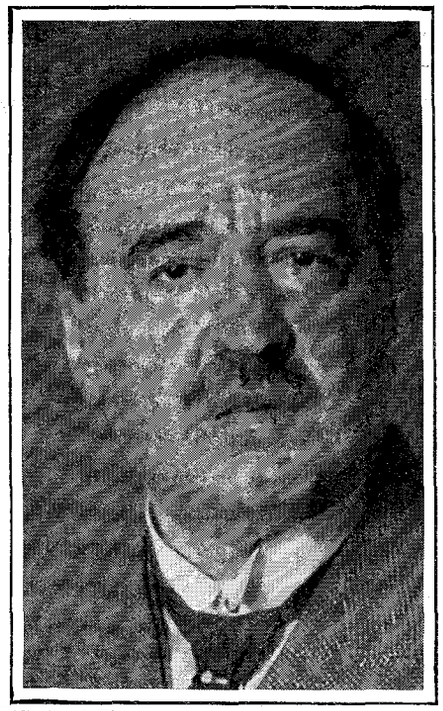
P. & A. Photos

The late Senator Brandegee, of Connecticut

Senator Brandegee

OBSTRUCTIONIST is usually regarded as a term of reproach; but there are times when obstruction is a useful service. Those who disagreed with Frank B. Brandegee's political view naturally regard his main service in the Senate as detrimental. But there are many others who believe that in opposing certain measures he served his country well. His service consisted in preventing laws rather than in passing them. No law bears Senator Brandegee's name. He was one of the most vigorous opponents of America's entrance into the League of Nations. And his opposition has been indorsed by public opinion; for there is no prospect that the Senate's decision

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



(C) Paul Thompson

Blasco Ibanez, famous Spanish novelist

against membership in the League of Nations will be reversed.

Senator Brandegee's death by suicide after a period of great depression was a shock to many of his most pronounced political opponents, for he was respected and liked by many of those who disagreed with him. He was a man of exceptional mental ability. He was effective as a public speaker; and it is said that he never wrote an important speech in his life.

Since the death of Senator Knute Nelson, of Minnesota, Senator Brandegee was Chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

Friendly Opponents

THOMAS JEFFERSON and Alexander Hamilton, when they sat together in Washington's Cabinet, presumably tried to accommodate their views each to the other. But it is doubtful if, since that time until just now, persons holding to the opposite principles of the schools of political thought founded by these men have sat down together and, in a spirit of tolerance, tried to find and apply the good in both schools. This new thing was done a little while ago in Utica, New York, when the Hamilton-Jefferson Association was founded.

More remarkable still, perhaps, is the fact that the membership is composed almost equally, not of Protestants and Catholics merely, but of Masons and Knights of Columbus. This new civic body is cut across one way by a line of political cleavage, the other way by a line of religious and fraternal cleavage. Yet it may be that this double division itself makes for unity. Half the Jeffersonians, roughly, are Catholics, half Protestants. So of the Hamiltonians. In large part Hamiltonian agrees with Jeffersonian in religion, Protestant with Catholic in politics. It doubtless is a body well adapted to carry out the expressed purpose of the organization, which is—

> To promote devotion to and understanding of the purposes of the founders of our Republic as expressed in the Constitution of the United States of America, and to foster a spirit of toleration in economics, politics, and religion.

Elihu Root, himself a Hamiltonian and a Protestant but looking upon life from an eminence sufficient to enable him to see the best in Jeffersonian and in Catholic, was the guiding spirit. He it was who made the principal speech and breathed out the inspiration upon which a great experiment in tolerance and adjustment of views was launched. For the organization is not to be a society in Utica, but an association of societies throughout the United States, of which the Utica society will be, in a sense, the "mother lodge." The organization is to be extended as rapidly as possible throughout the State of New York, and then into other States.

In this organization, if it is developed as intelligently as it was launched, there are great potentialities for good.

And Unfriendly Ones

A REVOLUTIONARY movement headed by a novelist whose chief weapon is his pen and whose direst threat is to write a romance against his enemies is something new in history.

This is just what has sprung up on the Spanish political horizon. Vicente Blasco Ibañez is known all over the world as a writer of highly colored and passionate fiction. He is anti-monarchical to the core. He has issued a manifesto from Paris in which he not only attacks the Government of Premier de Rivera, who himself came into power at the head of a bloodless revolution, but assails King Alfonso in a manner that can only be called vituperative—and this is the more astonishing because the world at large has been accustomed to regard

(C) Keystone

King Alfonso of Spain

Alfonso as a popular and harmless sovereign. He declares that "it is not the military directory, but the degenerate Alfonso who is mainly responsible for the troubles in Spain and the catastrophe in Morocco." Other excessively abusive remarks gleaned from the novelist's manifesto assert that Alfonso is "a cruel and faithless puppet. His greatest friend is the only man who surpasses him in ignominy if not in stupidity—Primo de Rivera. He is a companion in the King's debauches. Alfonso must go."

From Madrid, despatches show that the representatives of those in power are ready to carry on their part of the wordy war. A cabled interview with the Acting Premier, Señor Magaz (General de Rivera is in Morocco), denounces Blasco Ibañez as "a publicity seeker who takes good care to remain out of reach of the Spanish law while he preaches the overthrow of the Government and blackens the reputation of the King." Furthermore, Señor Magaz remarks that the novelist does not know what he is talking about, that his statements are illogical as well as untruthful, and that some literary men find the best way to advertise themselves is to pose as revolutionaries. As regards the personal attack on the King, Señor Magaz is less angry than shocked.

This is a lively, acrimonious, probably not very dangerous, war of words. In the meantime the Spanish situation is undoubtedly uncomfortable politically, both because of the failure of the present

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Government to subdue the revolt in Morocco and because of domestic political agitation.

The Issue

THIS year there is an issue which transcends any personality, any party, and any special policy.

Many citizens, it is true, will vote because they like one candidate better than another, or because either through habit or through conscious revolt against habit they prefer one party to another, or because either through self-interest or through public spirit they desire to record their approval or disapproval of some policy. It is evident, however, that citizens generally are more indifferent to the personality of the Presidential candidates, freer from party ties, and less concerned with any particular issue than they have been in any Presidential campaign for more than a generation.

For this seeming indifference on the part of the voters one reason can be found in the three chief personalities of the campaign.

Senator La Follette is picturesque. During his whole career he has been in the eyes of his supporters a political knight errant, and in the eyes of his severer critics a political soldier of fortune, but never a good captain in a regiment or a good colonel in a brigade, and therefore incapable of being a really good general of an army. Alone among the candidates he has secured what may be called a large, popular, personal following; but his recklessness in appealing to group prejudices and his instability have confined that personal following to those who distrust political stability and care little for political consequences.

Mr. Davis is eminent, respectable, and experienced in public life; but he has failed to impress the country as a constructive statesman. He has devoted a large part of his speeches to attacks upon his opponents and even to verbal assaults upon individuals. Even in his speech at Omaha, which is one of his more positive and constructive utterances, he spent most of his time in analyzing the agricultural situation and finding fault with the party in power, and very little, and that in most general terms, in making any constructive proposal. He has not appealed to the popular imagination.

President Coolidge is quiet, reserved, unspectacular. He has not appeared on the stump. Since his speech of acceptance his utterances have been those not of a candidate but of a President. His distinctive qualities are rather those that confirm the confidence of associates than those which kindle the zeal of disciples.

As the voters are not deciding this election primarily by their preference for candidates, so they are not deciding it by their preference for party. All three parties in the campaign are more or less disorganized. The Socialist Party, whose candidate is Mr. La Follette, is one of a group of factions which have little if anything in common besides their Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates. They command no party loyalty. They have the cohesion of an alliance in a fight, and they have the weaknesses of such an alliance. The Democratic Party, seriously split by sectional, racial, and even religious differences, has not become reunited. The Republican Party has lost its old coherence, and its power to command party allegiance and exercise party discipline. Republican voters and even Republicans elected to office are less constrained by party traditions than ever.

And as candidates and parties fail in this election to be the controlling factor, so do questions of policy. There is nothing this year that stands out as the paramount issue of policy as free silver stood out in 1896, or imperialism in 1900, or the League of Nations four years ago. Among certain groups and certain sections some questions of policy have aroused popular interest; but these policies have varied with the locality and the group. In most of these cases, so far as any constructive proposal has been concerned, the issue has been raised by those closely or loosely connected with the La Follette movement; but the very diversity of the groups composing that movement has rendered the issues themselves diverse. Government ownership of railways, for example, advocated in the La Follette platform, has changed its form as an issue from audience to audience as the La Follette campaign has progressed. And similarly the League of Nations is one issue as presented in the Democratic platform, another issue as presented in the speeches of Mr. Davis. Certainly questions of policy are not definite or outstanding in this campaign.

Above any question of policy, above any preference for party, above any choice between candidates, is the issue between two ideals of American destiny.

On one side are those who believe that America was originally started on the right path and that progress consists in continuing forward as that path leads. On the other side are those who believe that America was started on the wrong path and that progress consists in going back to take a path in some other direction. On the one side are those who believe that the structure of government set up on this continent was on the whole soundly planned and well built and that progress consists in enlarging that structure, adapting it in detail here and there, and making new uses of it as new uses are called for. On the other side are those who believe that that structure was faulty in design and not well put together and that progress consists in tearing down some of its central parts, changing the design, and planning such fundamental changes as to make of it a new and different building. If those who wish to preserve what they believe to be good can be called conservative and those who wish to turn backward can be called reactionary, then the issue may be said to be one between conservative progressives and reactionary radicals. Really, however, it is an issue more profound than those terms would indicate. It is an issue between those who believe in America, in the American spirit, American institutions, the American form of democracy, American independence, and American ways of co-operating with other nations, and those who believe that American democracy has been essentially a failure, American institutions and, in particular, the American structure of government essentially faulty, and America's established place among the nations and all that it has involved an essentially false position.

This issue has been raised by Senator La Follette and his followers. They are not agreed as to what is right; but they are agreed that the American Constitution with its safeguards against trespass upon individual rights even by a majority in Congress is wrong; they are agreed that the effort of American democracy to rule without divisions into classes and without engaging in class war is wrong; they are agreed that the effort to weld Americans into a united people without consideration of the interests of foreign countries is wrong; and they are agreed that the American faith in individual independence in the effort to accomplish common ends by voluntary co-operation rather than by governmental interference

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is wrong. They see perhaps more clearly than any others the genuine grievances of those who suffer from inequality; but they differ from the rest of their fellow-Americans in wishing to remove those grievances by first removing what is distinctive in the American structure of government, in the American habit of thought, and in the American attitude toward other peoples. There is no practical question of honesty or dishonesty in this campaign. No one really doubts the honesty of any one of the three candidates or the honesty of any men he would choose for positions of trust. It is a question between those who sincerely distrust what is distinctly American and those who equally sincerely believe in it and would build upon it.

When such an issue is raised, those who see what is at stake will not waste their votes on any compromise. They will either vote for the radical reconstruction of American democracy or for those who are unmistakably against it. We do not think our readers can doubt on which side of the question The Outlook stands. Twenty years ago an editorial in this journal stated what is pertinent to repeat here:

> The Outlook is both by temperament and by conviction hopeful and progressive—alike in theology, in sociology, and in politics. The evolutionist believes that all progress is rooted in the past but grows toward the future. He differs from the radical because he will not separate himself from the past; from the reactionary because he will not anchor to the past.

We believe that the most certain way to insure progress along the path which America has followed is to maintain in Washington the present Executive and to provide that Executive with loyal support in Congress.

As Barnum Said

WITHIN five or ten years you have probably heard—at your office, in your club, or in the smoking-car—a wonderful tale about a lawsuit between two famous American families. Or some one has lent you a typewritten copy of the narrative, with all the particulars set forth in a dozen or twenty pages. The details varied, as there were different versions of the story, but in general they were briefly something like this:

The family of Olmsted, to which belonged the eminent landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, have for two centuries owned Deer Isle, on the coast of Maine. Generations ago, one Cotton Mather Olmsted acquired it by gift from Winnepesaukee, sachem of the Penobscot Indians, in return for kindness shown to the old chief when he had been injured by a bear. The deed, written on birch-bark and dated January 24, 1699, is still in possession of the family. In 1892 Mr. Frederick Law Olmsted, exploring a cave at one end of the island, found marks which caused him to dig in the sand till he discovered unmistakable evidence that an iron chest had at one time rested there. The marks of the nails in the chest were still visible in this rectangular cavity.

Now Mr. Olmsted knew that about 1801 Jacques Cartier, a French-Canadian fur trader in the employ of the original John Jacob Astor, had bought from his ancestor, Oliver Cromwell Olmsted, a few acres of land on the island. The poor fur trader had become suddenly and mysteriously prosperous. Finally he disappeared, and in his cabin were found documents, including a scrap of paper signed by John Jacob Astor. Mr. Olmsted, endowed apparently with powers of deduction more remarkable than those of Sherlock Holmes and gifts of prophecy surpassing the great men of the Old Testament, became convinced that this cavity in the sand had once held the treasure chest of Captain William Kidd, the notorious pirate; that Cartier had discovered it, and sold it to his employer, Astor, and that its contents had been the foundation of the Astor fortunes. He consulted William M. Evarts as to the legal aspects of the case, and was assured by that great lawyer that, as the Indian deed had been confirmed by the United States Government in the Administration of President Washington, the chest was treasure trove, and its contents undoubtedly the lawful property of the Olmsteds.

Investigation in the records of the Manhattan Bank in New York showed that the modest deposits of J. J. Astor prior to 1801 were swollen in that year by the extraordinary sum of $500,000. Also that payments to Cartier, usually of twenty to thirty dollars for mink and skunk skins, had been increased in the same year by one payment of $5,000 for no reason which was on record. In addition there appeared accounts of transactions with Roderick Streeter, of London, dealer in precious stones. A total sum of $1,300,000 had been paid to Astor by Streeter. Mr. Olmsted put an advertisement in the New York "Tribune" for an iron box, 15 x 30 x 15 inches, supposed to have been sold in 1893, at the time when the last house was wrecked in which old Mr. Astor had lived. With rare good luck he immediately heard from one "Bronson B. Tuttle," of Naugatuck, Connecticut, who had bought such a chest from "Melchisedec Jacobs," of Brooklyn. Mr. Tuttle generously let Mr. Olmsted have the chest for eighty cents—its value as old iron—and when it was conveyed to Deer Isle, and to the cave on the isle, and to the hole in the sand in the cave on the isle, need one say that it exactly fitted the hole? Need it be said that on the top of the chest were the initials "W. K."—or those of William Kidd?

It was known—or it shortly afterwards became known to Mr. Olmsted—that a little before the hour when Captain Kidd made his last public appearance, in the distressing ceremony which ended his career, he handed his wife a card with the mystic figures 44106818 thereon. And it happened, one day after Mr. Olmsted learned all this, that he was entertaining Professor David P. Todd, of Amherst, who amused himself by calculating the latitude and longitude of Deer Isle. When he found these to be 44° 10′ N. and 68° 13′ W., a perspicacious member of the Olmsted family noticed the close similarity of the figures to those on Captain Kidd's memorandum.

Naturally, Mr. Olmsted had Mr. Evarts call upon the Astor family and demand $1,300,000 with interest since 1801, or, to be precise, the sum of $5,112,234.80. In return for a prompt cash settlement he magnanimously offered to knock off the $34.80. The Astors refused the suggestion. He then demanded all the real estate owned by the Astors in New York, but this modest demand was also rejected. Consequently, Mr. Olmsted, represented by Joseph H. Choate, Stewart L. Woodford, and Frederick W. Holls, brought suit. The Astors, through their lawyers, Elihu Root and Edward S. Isham, denied liability, and asserted that if the cause of action were ever valid, it had been barred by the statute of limitations. And—so always ends the tale—it is expected that the case will come to final trial during the present year.

This story, as we have said, has had

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

currency, by word of mouth or otherwise, for years. It is often related by some one who adds personal confirmation of the details. The legal reports of New York State do not seem to have any record of it, but that does not prevent gentlemen from asserting its truth, and other gentlemen from believing it. One lawyer of whom we have heard even declared that his firm had handled some details of the case. The narrator of this story is not always able to vouch for it personally, but if not, he can usually name somebody who will so vouch.

The book collectors known as the Rowfant Club of Cleveland have recently published "Untrodden Fields in History and Literature," by the late Franklin Harvey Head, and, together with various other ingenious hoaxes, have included therein "A Notable Lawsuit," in which all this case of Olmsted vs. Astor is set forth at length, with amusing pictures. Some history is given of Mr. Head's yarn, which was first printed privately in Chicago as long ago as 1899. The fact that Mr. Head (who died in 1914) invented the story has long been known to a few; it is now known by many more; but it is probably still unknown to many who have heard some version of the tale. And what is very curious is the undoubted fact that some who hear the truth utterly refuse to credit it, and prefer to believe in the cave, the iron chest, the lawsuit, and all the rest. Mr. Head was a banker and corporation director in Chicago; what is more to the point is that he was a member of Eugene Field's group of "Saints and Sinners," who dearly loved such jests as this story of the great lawsuit.

It has all the elements of a successful hoax. It awakens that strange delight which so many folk experience from being fooled, and it contains other elements which have contributed to its success and caused its grave acceptance even until to-day. It has in it a tale of buried treasure and of Captain Kidd. It attributes the foundations of a big fortune to pirate gold—a welcome theory to many persons. It has references to a great legal action. It names veritable men, and does so with due solemnity. And it is, in some odd fashion, the kind of story which many of us like to believe, which we would cling to even if archangels should come to testify against it. Probably even Mr. Head, when he wrote his fiction, had small notion how successful a deception he had invented.

Police, Take Notice

WE are nearer the end of trial by torture in America because of the recent outcome of two murder trials. The despicable system of obtaining confessions by methods of inflicting mental anguish, known as the "third degree," has received a staggering, let us hope a fatal, blow.

One of the incidents was the acquittal at Tacoma, Washington, of Roland H. Pothier, charged with the murder of Major Alexander B. Cronkhite. The other was the action of the Supreme Court of the United States in remanding for new trial the case of Wan Ziang-sung, a young Chinese charged with the murder of Dr. Wu Ben-sen. A court of first instance and the court of last resort similarly condemned the "third degree," the one refusing to convict, the other refusing to sustain conviction based mainly upon confession not voluntarily made.

The two cases, probably, are of almost equal value in bringing the obnoxious nature of the "third degree" to public attention. The Pothier case involved prominent officers of the United States Army and received much attention. The trial occurred in a lower court of the State of Washington. Wan, on the other hand, is an obscure young Chinese, but his case was passed upon by the highest court in the United States. The two results, coming together, ought to go a long way toward crushing a furtive inquisitional institution which has so long existed in our police departments and detective bureaus without warrant of law or color of justice.

The Cronkhite death, for which Pothier was tried, occurred at Camp Lewis, Washington, October 25, 1918. Major Cronkhite, with a number of regiments on the rifle range, stepped into some underbrush. Three shots were fired. Pothier and Captain Robert Rosenbluth were the nearest persons to him. The first report was that Cronkhite had deliberately committed suicide. Later an Army board reported upon investigation that he accidentally shot himself while shooting at a tin can. The case was regarded as settled.

Nearly three years later Pothier was arrested in Providence, Rhode Island. General Adelbert Cronkhite, father of Major Cronkhite, believed that the wound of which his son died could not have been accidentally self-inflicted. He was within his rights in demanding further investigation. The arrest of Pothier was proper. But, improperly, he was subjected to the "third degree" and confessed that he fired the fatal shot. Again, under the "third degree," he changed his statement and said that, while he fired the shot, Captain Rosenbluth instigated the deed. Later, when he had the protection which should have been accorded him from the outset, he repudiated both confessions. He is now, after three years of prison and worse, acquitted because a jury could not be made to believe that a confession under duress constituted proof of guilt. The case against Captain Rosenbluth, indicted as an accessory, was dismissed without trial.

The killing for which the Chinese student, Wan, was sentenced to death occurred in Washington, D. C., on January 21, 1919. Dr. Wu Ben-sen, undersecretary of the Chinese Educational Mission, and two of his clerks were found murdered in the Mission. Wan, who had known the secretary and had been befriended by him, was suspected. Arrested in New York, where he was a student in Columbia University, he was taken to Washington and tortured for eleven days, practically without rest or sleep. He signed a confession. A physician who later examined him said that he himself, under similar circumstances, would have confessed to anything for an hour's respite from the torture to which Wan was subjected.

But a jury accepted the extorted confession as evidence of guilt and condemned the young Chinese to death. The Chinese Government is said to have supported the prosecution. Wan had no money with which to conduct a proper defense. Some of his friends appealed to John W. Davis, now the Democratic candidate for President. Mr. Davis took the position that the confession never should have been admitted as evidence. When the case went to the Supreme Court, he prepared and submitted a brief in support of this contention.

The Supreme Court, in an opinion written by Justice Brandeis, has now sustained the contention that the confession, obtained as it was, should have been excluded from consideration by the jury. There was, said Justice Bran-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deis, "no issue upon which the jury should have been required or permitted to pass."

Here is a clearer decision from a higher authority than has appeared before holding the "third degree" to be in violation not merely of American statute law but of the whole spirit of Anglo-Saxon judicature. It ought to have the effect of ending definitely and for all time this barbaric practice. But unaided it will not. The Outlook said editorially sixteen years ago:

> The "third degree" needs only to be known to be abhorred by all fair-minded men, and more abhorred because it is never practiced on the rich or the influential but only on the poor and the friendless. If the courts have not the authority under existing law to put a stop to examination by torture, the legislatures have no more sacred and no more immediate duty than to confer that authority and call for its prompt exercise.

It should be the duty of legislatures now to support the Supreme Court of the United States by conferring whatever authority is needed to take from uniformed men the power to force men by torture to admit crime.

A Few Portraits

By ELBERT FRANCIS BALDWIN

The Outlook's Editorial Correspondent in Europe

A GREAT St. Bernard dog walks slowly and solemnly up and down before the Palais des Nations, where sits the Council—the upper house of the League of Nations. He is a dozen years old or so, and has been on duty here a long time. He is peaceable and friendly, but, as was said of a famous English schoolmaster by his pupils, he is a "just beast."

At the meetings of the Assembly—the lower house, over in the Salle de la Réformation—the fifty-five member states are represented by several delegates each. Even more than last year and the year before I am impressed by the great variety among the delegates, because there are steadily more of them. At our House of Representatives in Washington we see Yankees contrasted with Southerners, and Far Westerners with islanders. Here one has the greater variety among Europeans, Canadians and Latin-Americans, Asians and Africans of varying hues.

Despite the diversity, there is a really impressive atmosphere of friendliness; never have I seen so much and so constant hand-shaking or so many amicable and even affectionate glances; you might fancy yourself in a veritable mutual admiration society. Like the St. Bernard dog, so all the delegates here at this autumn session of the Council and the Assembly of the League seem amiably and peacefully disposed; and I hope that, as in the case of the dog, the ruling thought here is justice first, then peace.

Among the delegates are half a dozen women—from Great Britain, Australia, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Rumania. However worthy their heads and hearts, their toilets are tasteless compared with the smart attire of the one American woman of official position in the Assembly to-day.

I was surprised to see that one or more artists had been admitted to the floor

Giuseppe Motta at his desk as President of the Assembly

and were busily sketching the heads of presumably not unwilling delegates. It was amusing to note that these delegates, especially those of idealistic tendencies, were trying to appear quite unconscious of what was going on. Certainly this portrait-making innovation did not add to the dignity of what otherwise was a decorous and dignified assemblage.

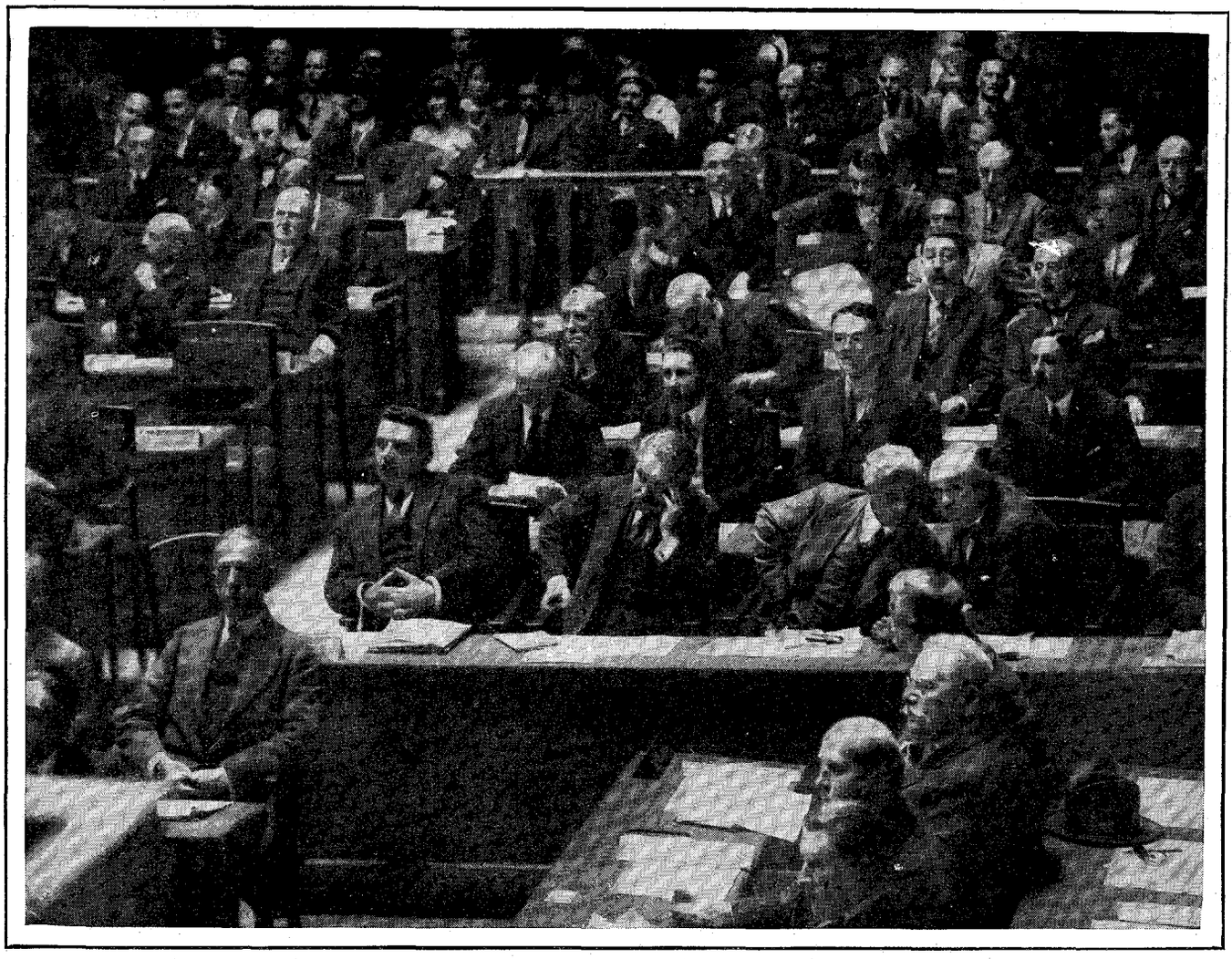
The delegates most quoted here happen to be men all physically small but mentally big—Adachi of Japan, Benes of Czechoslovakia, Boncour and Briand of France, Hymans of Belgium, Motta of Switzerland, Politis of Greece.

Of these Eduard Benes, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, is the most quoted; indeed, the epoch-making scheme evolved at this year's meeting of the Assembly is generally referred to as the "Benes plan." Its chief originator is a remarkable combination of Slav, Teuton, Latin, and what seem to me distinctly American traits. His head is patently bulging with brains; he has piercing but wonderfully kind eyes; his facial expression is sympathetic, but he speaks with a rather harsh voice. His most taking feature is his smile—an instant smile and one full of understanding and appreciation for the circumstance eliciting it. He speaks French with poor Parisian accent, but, alert, supple, lucid, constructive, full of resource, he gives you a clear picture of the statesmanlike end he is working for, with his various sanctions (for security) as precedent to armament limitations. He speaks with surprising authority for a man still comparatively young until you realize that he never permits his talk to degenerate into mere sentimentalism. He is a practical politician. He does not dream dreams.

Nicolas Politis, ex-Greek Foreign Minister and now Ambassador at Paris, closely and effectively associated with Dr. Benes in the limitation of armament plan, is a signally handsome man, as becomes one of Greek ancestry. Yesterday I heard him speak smoothly and cogently for three-quarters of an hour without a note and without the slightest hesitation for a word. He was developing the principle of compulsory arbitration. He spoke in absolute harmony with the words that I heard from President Motta concerning him: "A scholar and a statesman. His is a penetrating and clear mind; his a logician's thought; his speech has the measure of the Greek masters—indeed, measure, balance, that is the divine virtue the Greeks have bequeathed to us."

Paul Hymans, Belgian Foreign Minister, has been a live wire here for five Assemblies. President of the first Assembly (1920), he is now President of the Council. Good as an executive, he is better as an orator. It does not appear to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Delegates in their places at the Salle de la Réformation. The French delegates are in the foreground. At the extreme left, with his hands folded, sits Herriot; next comes Briand, next Paul Boncour, and then Loucheur. Just behind Briand sits Carlo Schanzer, and to his right, Professor Scialoja, both of the Italian delegation. Across the aisle the most prominent figure—the smooth-shaven man—is Dr. Loudon, head of the Dutch delegation

comport with his restive, restless nature to sit quietly and calmly in a chair as a presiding officer. It does appear entirely his nature to put every ounce of his spare, nervous self into gestures of force and words of thunder—the while keeping his legs busy too. His thin face seems continually consumed by some internal fire; certainly inspiration and experience alike inform his speech.

Mine-ichiro Adachi, Japanese Ambassador at Brussels and Vice-President of the Institute of International Law, is the League's Tom Thumb. He is a wonderfully able, hard-headed little person. He looks like an ivory idol yellowed with age. His shining and almost bald pate and the wee wisps of hair he wears on his face only accentuate his inscrutable expression. We have yet to understand just why he waited until the closing day of the usual four-week term of the Assembly before springing his remarkable proposal. Perhaps, feeling sure of getting half a loaf anyway, he wanted to avoid too long a fight with the representatives of the British Dominions and with some others on the Commission. He refused to agree that the International Court should have the final voice in determining whether or not a dispute was solely one of domestic jurisdiction and insisted that the Council (on which Japan has a permanent seat) must be given the last word.

Aristide Briand, repeatedly French Premier, is about as graceful as a cow. Short, solid, ungainly, seemingly a bit lazy, he looks like a blacksmith in retirement; certainly he has a blacksmith's gestures. He seems the Vulcan of the Assembly. Clumsy physically, there is nothing clumsy about his very masculine and forceful French. It commanded universal attention yesterday. There was no paper-rustling or nose-blowing. No one stirred. The speech received the unwonted compliment of a translation by M. Camerlynck (the official translator, and a master of his art; he sits at the President's right; Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General, sits at his left) instead of a translation by one of the half-dozen translators occupying the lower tribune, from which the orators of the day address the Assembly. When a word like "forsooth" appeared in M. Camerlynck's translation, even non-French speakers rightly assumed that the original was as subtle as it was strong.

Of all the orations from the speaker's tribune, however, Paul Boncour's this morning is generally accounted the best. His is a face for a camera or a medallion. Pure Greek in outline, it is surmounted by a shock of shaggy gray hair. His exquisite French is spoken in melodious voice—would that all other Socialists spoke thus! He speaks, do I say? But not as do ordinary orators, by deliberately prepared texts to be learned by heart or read to a patient audience. No, this orator seems *thinking* before you and paying you the compliment of voicing his thought as it develops. He walks—thinking and talking—up and down the platform. Has he been going pretty far in his radical expressions? Then he stops, folds his arms, and defies the assembly—*Athanasius contra mundum.* He interests and fascinates every one, does this Paul Boncour.

The closing event of this year's Assembly was the presidential address this afternoon. I have often heard Giuseppe Motta, from the Italian canton of Ticino, ex-President of Switzerland, but never

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

when he so appealed to his auditors. They rose in a body and cheered him for several minutes. That was not a long time, I know, compared with the manufactured cheering of our political conventions at home, but its spontaneity was "going some" for this sedate place. Signor Motta was visibly affected. For the first time in this Assembly he was standing at his place instead of remaining seated. What an attractive figure! A marked power of youth lit up his face, and you noted again that, despite his gray hair, how like a child's is his rosy complexion, how blue and limpid are his eyes.

Of course there is a great difference among the many speakers. "So much big talk makes me tired," remarked a young girl to me coming out of the Strangers' Gallery after five hours of steady oratory. Yet she has missed hardly a meeting, so enthusiastic is she about the best orators; it was only the more nebulous texts of the others that she dubbed "big talk."

Geneva, October 2, 1924.

La Follette's Mixed Army

Special Correspondence from Minneapolis

By STANLEY FROST

AN astute Negro politician of the Middle West was reproached the other day by a Republican leader because the Negro had been flirting with the La Follette crowd. The colored man grinned.

"Well, sir," he said, "you know my people are about ready to try something different. The promises you folks have been making us for so long haven't got us anything we can see. They were good promises once, but they're getting kind of thin. We want some new promises for a while."

"But you know as well as I do," the G. O. P. emissary protested, "that the La Follette stuff is all flapdoodle."

"Yes, sir; yes, sir," the Negro replied. "I know that. But it's new flapdoodle. We want a change of diet. Reckon a lot of us will try it."

This story illustrates, as well as any one story can, much of the idea behind the La Follette movement. It does not tell all the truth, of course, and there is hardly anything more essential to an understanding of American politics just now than to get at all the truth. There is already a vigorous attempt to make the country believe that the movement is a tremendous demonstration for radicalism.

Already this purpose has, in fact, been very largely accomplished. There is little doubt, either, that the La Follette crowd in Congress will be considerably increased and that the next Congress will show an intensification of the balance of power troubles which afflict this one. The third party movement has produced the only live issue of the campaign, and it is almost certain that it will result, if not in the new political alignment which its leaders advertise, at least in a new party with some real power.

Germans, Jews, some Italians and Poles, farmers, Socialists, unionists, and representatives of some minor discontents are all mixed in a hotchpotch of varied aims, purposes, and interests, many of them irreconcilable among themselves. There is, however, one unifying principle—in spite of disagreement about what they want, they all want something different from what we have.

In seeking for details of the real springs of the La Follette movement the first point to be noted is that the platform counts very little. I have hardly found a La Follette leader who believed wholly in the platform, and very few of the rank and file are even interested in it.

So, instead of a platform, the movement really is based on an emotion. As will be shown later, it is also largely instinctive, which is much the same thing. This is bound to be true, since the movement is based on dissatisfaction and with most of its members is a blind lashing out against a vivid conviction of wrongs suffered. There is no real agreement on any constructive programme or curative treatment. "We know enough to be afraid of panaceas by this time," one man said. "We don't want a programme; we want to get control of the Government for the people instead of for the interests." But there is behind the movement a great enthusiasm, an almost evangelistic fervor, and usually rather bitter resentments. The psychology is that of an instinctive group mind opposed to the present American group mind.

The Driving Force of Discontent

THE one fundamental conviction, present in every La Follette man and woman I have met, is that the Government is responsible for practically every ill that they suffer, especially all economic ills; and that all evils have come because the Government is in the hands of people of wealth—the upper classes—who use their power to exploit and oppress those below them.

This is an axiom, permitting no exceptions, in the La Follette faith. It is founded on wrongs and exploitations which have been real enough; but the extortions of country bankers, the cheating of business men, and the blunders of legislators have been built into a guiding generality that is extended into realms of legislation and economics which the average voter cannot understand—wherefore he believes! This is, of course, essentially Marxian, and indeed much of the Marxian patter is to be heard among the La Follette workers, and many speeches have the same tang as those of Marat and Robespierre.

This belief is entirely beyond the reach of reason, of statistics, or other facts, even of results. It involves the belief that all agitators are "friends of the people" and all their opponents or critics are "enemies of the toiling masses;" that all facts which tend to explode the belief, or all figures which do not fit the theories it has begotten, are "manipulated by the interests" or are "capitalistic propaganda," and that all failures of the panaceas offered by the "friends of the people" are due to chicanery and crime by "the interests." The present price of wheat, the failure of the Non-Partisan bank, the increase of taxes under "progressive" government—all are charged up to the same malignant power.

In short, the La Follette movement has established a prejudice—which has some justification, as prejudices always have—and is intensifying it and building upon it. Against that such common sense as Dawes has been expounding through the Northwest becomes offensive. Prejudice is not only proof against common sense but resents it, and there are many who believe that Dawes has actually done his party more harm than good.

An analysis of the people who are supporting the La Follette movement shows six classes, not entirely distinct. First in noise, but last in numbers, are the "intel-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lectuals." These, so far as I have found, are the only ones who are not working on personal grievances, but who have a generous and unselfish though materialistic idealism. But the intellectuals are comparatively unimportant in the movement. This could hardly be otherwise in any outburst of popular feeling, for, while the intellectuals are emotional enough, they respond to a set of synthetic emotions quite different from those which motivate the great masses. In fact, they are rather despised by the real leaders as mere press agents and letter writers.

The Forces of Alienism

THE first class of people from whom La Follette is drawing any great numerical strength are the actual radicals, chiefly the Socialists of various kinds, the radical labor elements, the paternalists in general, the Government-ownership advocates, and others of these groups. We are familiar with them all. They have been trying for years to form some workable union, and believe they have it behind La Follette. They are mainly Jews, Russians, and Germans, with many Italians and Poles and some of other races. They are all fundamentally, and most of them openly, opposed to the basic conceptions on which American government is built. They constitute the vast majority of the La Follette strength in the Eastern States, the big cities, and the industrial world. They have become the backbone of the movement, as is shown by the fact that there are eleven of them on La Follette's campaign committee. They expect to dominate it, and draw the other elements with them.

The second great class of supporters includes those who are in revolt politically, but not fundamentally. They have no desire to change the American system except in ways which they believe necessary to put themselves in control. They feel they have been discriminated against; they are violently in reaction against rotten politics, lying politicians, governmental corruption, and panacea mongers. A particular, and just, grievance is the steadily lowering quality of the politicians who have been running the Republican Party in the States where they are most numerous. "If old Knute Nelson were still handling this State, La Follette wouldn't have a chance," a Minnesota labor leader declared. "It's the bunch of skunks and grafters at the Capitol that give him his real opening."

This political revolt is the great strength of La Follette in the Middle West, and especially among the farmers. It is the most important element in the party, too; for the radicals we have always with us, but radicalism among the farmers is a strange and alarming development, and one that, if it spreads, could quite easily upset the whole system of government and make America into quite a different place. It is worth careful study.

All farmers, not only those in the Middle West, have certain standing grievances against the rest of us. They work long and hard hours, their profits are often low and always uncertain, and they suffer from hard times due to weather or pests which do not affect other classes. Recently they suffered especially because the prices on their products were deflated far more rapidly and completely than prices on their purchases. To-day they complain that they have to sell in a market with prices fixed by world conditions, but must buy in a market with prices artificially fixed by union labor and the tariff. They want this changed.

They believe that they have been ruthlessly cheated by speculators, elevator men, and the railroads. They note the difference between what they get for their corn and wheat and the price it brings in the Chicago market the next June, and figure that they have been defrauded of the difference. They believe also that they have been exploited by the politicians. They have been promised many things—sure cures for all their ills. These promises have not been kept, of course, and it is the politicians' own fault that the farmer has turned on them. The farmers, like the Negroes, want a new set of promises.

They are not truly radical, however. They believe in the Constitution and like to vote the Republican ticket. The La Folletteites who have stuck to their party regularity while fighting every principle of the party have been wise—as outlaws they would have stood little chance of election in most States. The farmers do not want to upset the Government. They merely believe that they have not been getting a square deal, and they want one. They have no particular demands beyond this, except as they apply to particular grievances, like false grading at elevators and refusal of credit.

Strange Bedfellows

NOR does the farmer take any too kindly to an alliance with labor. He has doubts whether it is possible to raise both wages and the prices of farm products at the same time. He hopes that there may be something in the La Follette theory that the middlemen's profits are big enough so that this can be done, but he is far from sure of it. He is willing to ally himself with labor till he finds out. If it doesn't work, then he will be for his own hand, and he knows already that that would put him in opposition to labor. At any rate, nothing is further from his purposes than any real Socialism. He owns land.

His recent habit of electing men notable for their ability to make a noise in Congress is by way of experiment. He is firm in the faith that the Government can help him, and that it will if he makes it enough trouble. He doesn't know quite how; he pays little attention to the peculiar specifics the noisy politicians offer, but elects them in the hope that they will badger the Government into doing something.

So the farmer, even here in the Northwest, is only tentatively supporting La Follette. He will not support any very extreme measures. If they are tried, he will start a revolt inside the new party, just as he has now started one inside the old.

The Railroad Men and Others

A THIRD class of people who are backing La Follette in considerable numbers are those who have some particular and present grievance. One body is in the railroad unions, resentful because of the injunction Daugherty got out at the time of the railroad strike three years ago. Another consists of people whose indignation over the oil scandals is directed against both old parties. Some are veterans who wanted a real bonus. There are smaller groups who wanted other specific legislation and got help from neither old party. There are a good many of these people, all told. But they are of little value in forming a permanent third party. Most will be for some other party at the next election.

One group that was supposed to be solidly for La Follette deserves special mention—union labor. The attempt to "deliver" the unions has clearly failed. Labor is divided, as it always has been, and this cannot with any fairness be called a labor movement. The radical unions are behind La Follette, certainly, but as radicals, not as unionists. The other unions mostly take the color of their communities.

The support which La Follette is getting from all these groups—except the radicals—is so largely conditioned on his own personal popularity that one is inclined to doubt whether there is much other real strength in the movement. In each of the States which he is expected to carry I have asked some of his followers to name another man who could win on the same platform and campaign. Not one has been able to. The belief in La Follette's honesty, in his championship of the common people, and particularly in his friendship for certain groups, is a far larger element of his strength than all of his policies, or even than the grievances of his followers. The loss to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the movement when he drops out will be incalculable—and probably fatal.

Greatest of all will be the loss of the hyphenate strength, chiefly German, which belongs to no man but him. The hyphenate group is so closely interwoven into each of the groups which are supporting him that here again a strong doubt arises as to whether it is not gratitude for his war record rather than grievances, programme, or even personal confidence, that is bringing him support.

This gratitude begins with the "intellectuals." Their chief organ remarked in a recent issue that "it is a hopeful sign that . . . his war record will probably count more as a source of strength than a source of weakness" to him. Many of the people of this class are products of German education, either direct or indirect, and many more are affected by the clever and alluring writings of the pacifist or pro-German Jews. Most of them were pacifist—if not pro-German—during the war, and opposed to all stringent war measures. They learned then to associate with hyphenates and to accept La Follette as their political leader.

This is no less true of the radicals. Radicalism in America, under the domination of Germans (perhaps German Jews is more accurate), was violently pro-German during the war and since. It owes La Follette definite gratitude.

With the farmers the case is not so clear, but there is a curious line drawn between those farmers who support La Follette and those who do not. In general, with some exceptions, those of Teutonic stock—those which were pro-German during the war—are for him, and few others are. He has almost no strength along the line of the Yankee westward march; none worth mentioning among the Anglo-Saxons of the South.

I found this true in Wisconsin; it is true wherever I have been. It is so strong a factor in the La Follette strength everywhere that there is a reasonable probability that it is his main strength.

An Anti-American Party

When all the purposes and character of his followers are taken into consideration, in short, it seems that La Follette is basing his whole movement upon the support he gave the hyphenates during the war, and that he is trying to build, not a reform party, not even a "progressive" party, but a party which is opposed either to the American system of government or to the American national mind or both. In other words, an anti-patriotic party. This does not mean that all his followers know this or believe in it. Thousands are with the movement for some other of the reasons mentioned. But it does appear to be the real motive and the real strength of the movement.

It is only fair to give another explanation of all this, one which I had from one of the most intelligent and fair-minded La Follette men I have met, C. B. Leonard, a Minneapolis lawyer. I rather expected to be thrown out of his office when I suggested that there were indications that the movement was fundamentally anti-American, and enumerated the facts given above. But he admitted them.

"There is a good deal in what you say," he went on, thoughtfully. "There are fair grounds for suspicion along that line, I guess. But I do not think it is correct. The movement is a protest. It comes from grievances—from people who are suffering and who are economically at the bottom of the heap. Those are, quite naturally, the newcomers, the latest aliens. But because they are protesting it does not mean that they are arraying themselves against America. The same thing is true of the farmers. The Yankees are in rather different conditions from those up here—different climate and different crops. They have suffered less. I believe that it is more or less an accident that the lines of suffering—of protest—and the race lines so nearly coincide."

Representative John W. Nelson, La Follette's campaign manager, took another point of view.

"Our purpose is to stop exploitation, to get a force together. We are using all the allies we can find," he said. "We will get the issues clarified later. We are not quite ready to take control of the Government yet."

An Explanation that is a Confession

Victor Berger also speaks on the subject. "The Socialist Party didn't grow as it should," he said, "because we have very few native American workers who are compelled to stay workers all their lives. There is always a chance for them to get ahead on the shoulders of the newcomer, the immigrant. There are many different nationalities, and national hatred and jealousies exist. We have the hope, too, that some day we may have money."

Berger seems to be the most nearly right of the three. The coincidence of alien and underling in the cities is undoubtedly largely true, and if that were all, it might be accepted as the whole explanation. But it is not all. Even in the cities there are large bodies of native Americans who are wage-earners—some close to the starvation line. And on the farms there are millions who have suffered as severely as the Germans of the Northwest ever have. Yet the protests of the Yankee worker and the Yankee farmer take other forms, which do not attack the main basis of our Government.

The Yankee Instinct vs. the Teuton

The difference seems to be one of character—perhaps of instinct. The Yankee has an independence which would rather suffer than yield much power to the Government. The Teuton seems to have a "filialistic" (if I may coin a word to go with paternalistic) instinct which is glad to put all responsibility on the Government. It has not been changed by crossing the ocean. This instinct also accounts for the La Folletteite belief in the all power of the Government, which the Yankees simply refuse to accept.

So the La Follette movement must be credited with having a basis in real grievances, in real abuses by the Government, and more often by individual men in power. It is trying to remedy those abuses, not by improving the type of men selected for office, but by changing the system. It is fundamentally a party chiefly composed of those who have refused or have so far failed to become assimilated to Americanism, and are now trying to force Americans to become assimilated to them.

The success which is already assured to it makes it certain that the new party will be with us for some time. But its strength will be fluctuating, and its solid power will not be nearly so great as the coming election would indicate.

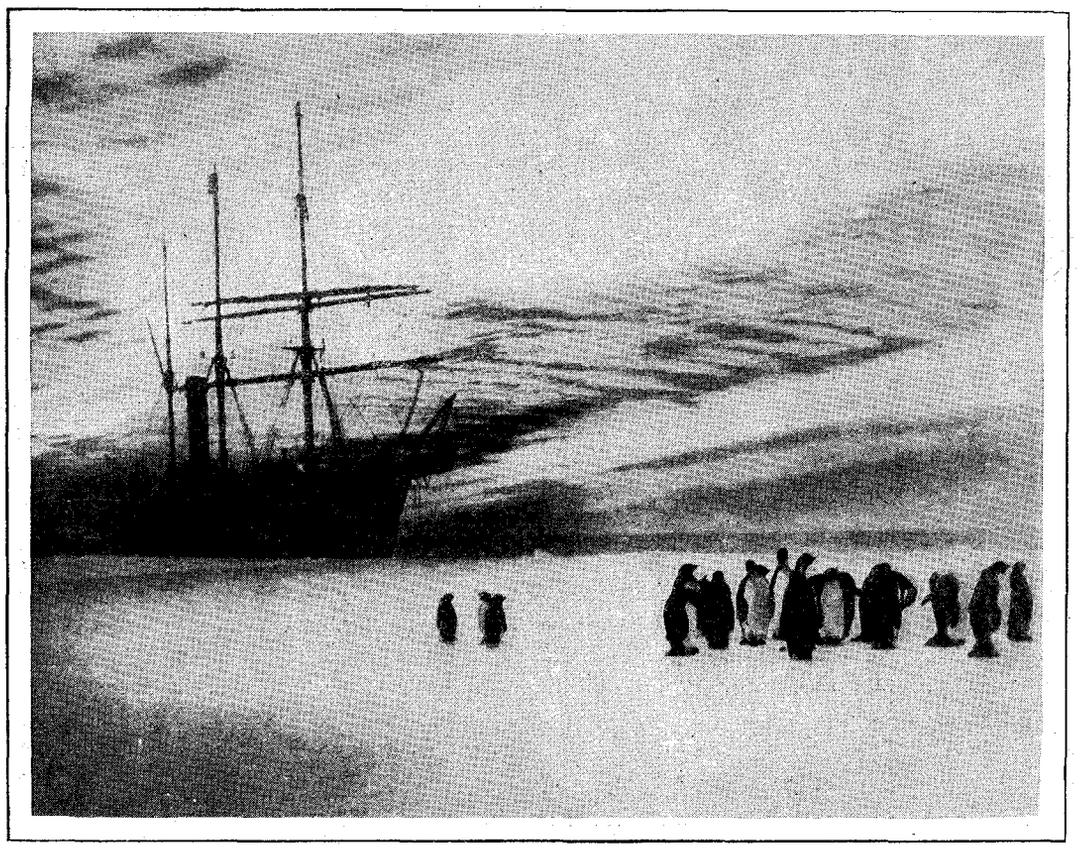
One of its weaknesses is that it is based on emotion and on suffering. A period of good times would hurt La Folletteism badly. The farmers, too, cannot long be comfortable in the movement. The personal followers will drop off fast.

The whole movement, too, will weaken just in proportion as we succeed in curing the actual grievances of the aliens (or the lower economic classes), in educating them to the solid facts of economics and the limits to government power, and in assimilating them to the American idea that independence, self-reliance, and freedom must go hand in hand. If we do these things, La Folletteism will decline fast; if we fail, perhaps it will deserve to win.

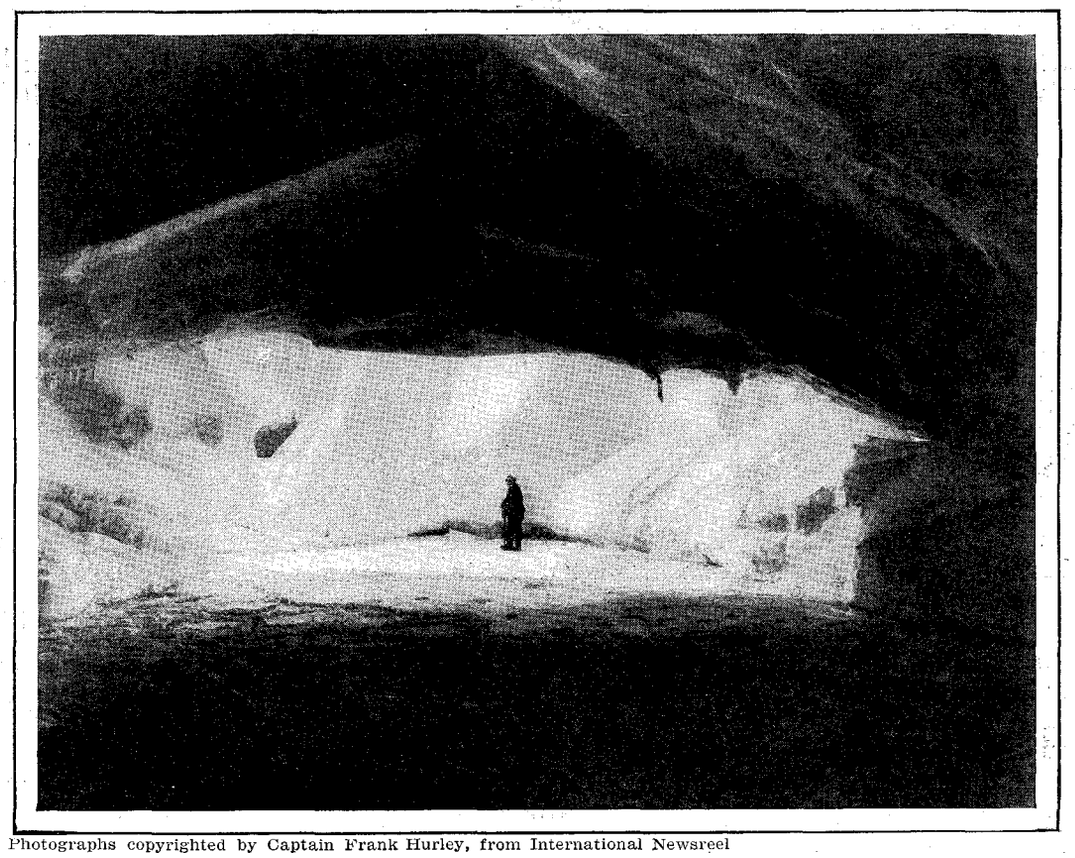
But, since some of the movement's grievances are very real, and since it is notoriously hard for us who do not suffer from them to understand and correct them, it can at least be said for La Folletteism that it is a needed spur. It should always be remembered, on the other hand, that the function of a spur is to prick the beast's hide, and not to kill him.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Isles of the



The ship in which Captain Frank Hurley, a well-known explorer of South Polar regions, recently made an expedition to Macquarrie Island in the South Pacific, and from which he brought back many interesting photographic studies. Note the reception committee in evening dress in the foreground

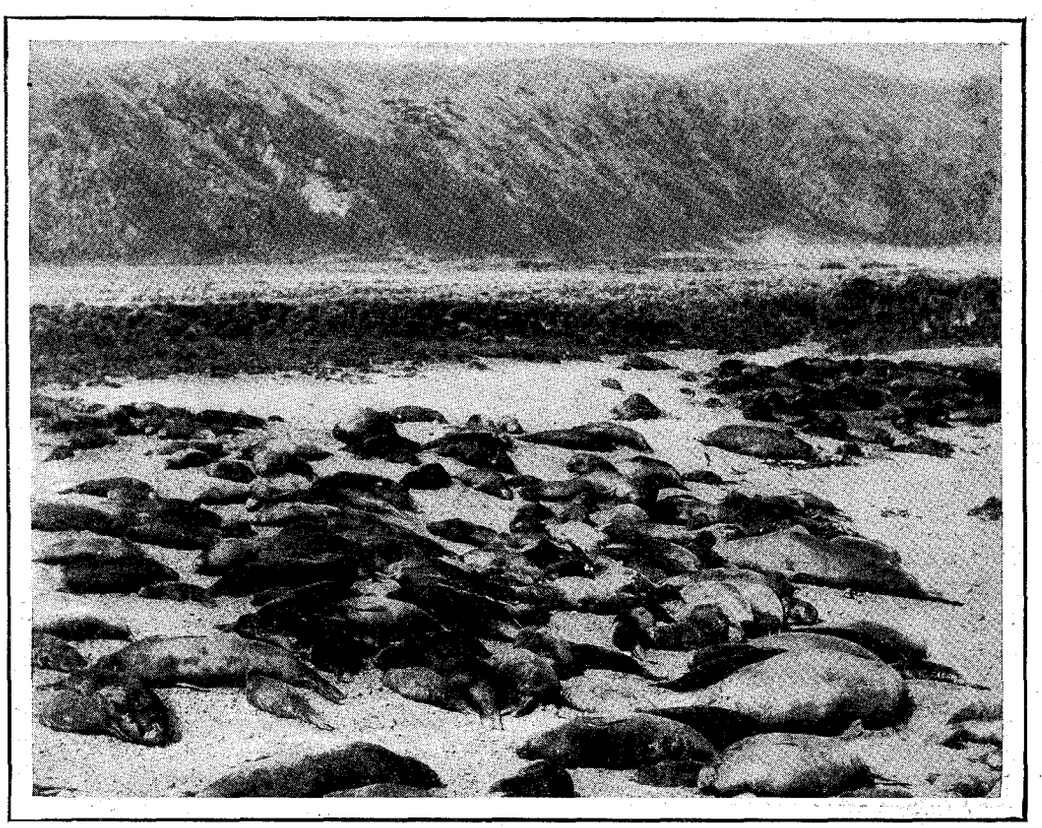


Captain Hurley also visited Elephant Island, a barren isle in the South Shetland Archipelago of the South Atlantic Ocean, where he found natural caves in the ice mountains, one of which is here pictured

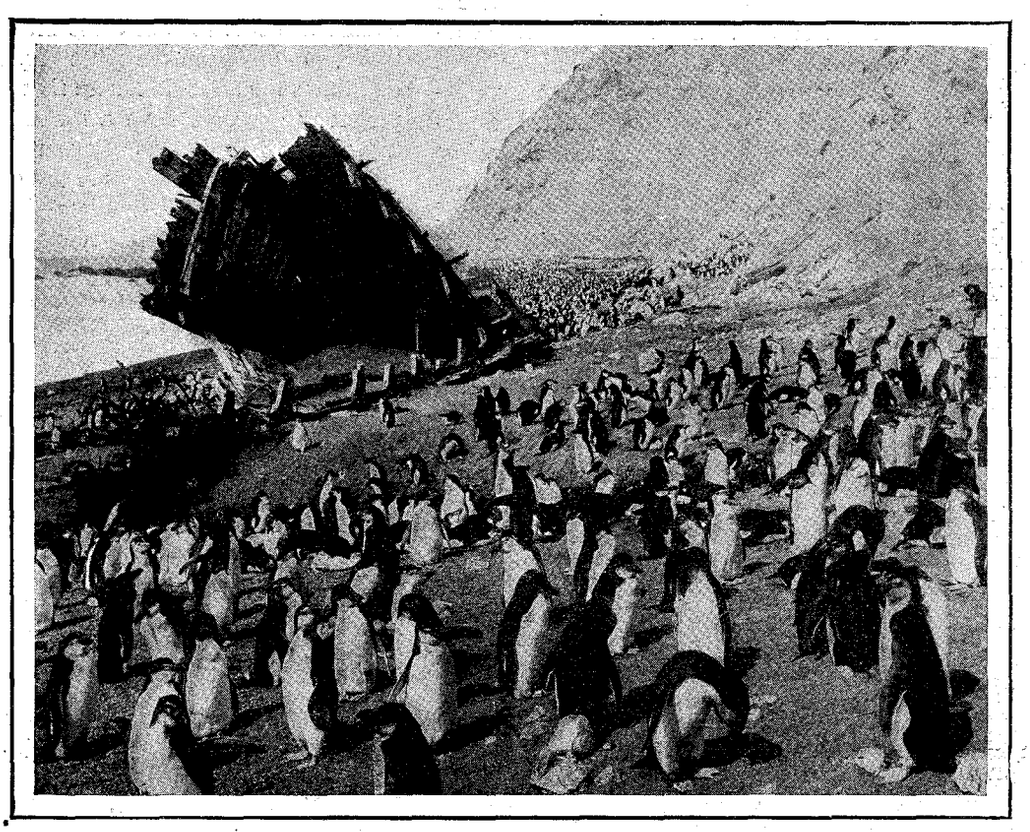
Photographs copyrighted by Captain Frank Hurley, from International Newsreel

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Frozen South



Elephant seals of Macquarrie Island enjoying a combined sun bath and snooze. The elephant seal has a short proboscis, whence the name. Fur seals were once abundant here, but they are now rarely seen, owing to their unregulated slaughter in former times



Penguins exist in vast numbers on Macquarrie Island, living in harmony with the elephant seals while ashore, but sometimes falling victims to the seals' appetite when in the water. The penguin is the clown of the bird world, causing constant merriment among explorers by reason of its odd appearance, its naive expression of surprise at being confronted with anything new, and its amusing antics

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Letter of Confession and Challenge

By JOHN SPARGO

MY dear Blank—I was not surprised by the bewildered tone of your letter. Several other old friends had already written to me in a similar spirit. Except for the exuberance of its generosity—rich fruit from the tree of friendship—your letter does not materially differ from several others, some of them by men and women we both love and admire. It seems to me that I can best meet the demands of friendship made by these letters by replying to your inquiries with more than ordinary care and detail, and then making the reply general.

I

YOU begin by reminding me of my long association with the international Socialist movement, and you ask: How can you, John Spargo, Socialist, whose expositions of Socialism in the past won so many of us, and whose leadership we were so proud to follow, persuade yourself that by opposing Senator La Follette and supporting Coolidge and Dawes you can serve the Socialist cause? How can you be so sure of your judgment as against that of practically all your old comrades at arms?" Putting aside the too generous personal compliments, I desire to point out that underlying your question is a complete misunderstanding of my position in general and of my reasons for opposing Senator La Follette in particular.

IT is true that for more than a quarter of a century I was prominently, and I hope honorably, identified with the international Socialist movement. To it I gave, unreservedly, all the best that was in me. For that I do not apologize. The record stands, and I look upon it without regret or shame. But, my friend, I do not now call myself a Socialist, or claim to be one or desire to be known as one. Neither do I for one moment believe that in supporting President Coolidge in this campaign I am aiding the cause of Socialism. Whether I am right or wrong in opposing Senator La Follette and in supporting President Coolidge, my position is quite different from what you and others have supposed it to be. I am entitled to make, and you are entitled to receive, as careful an explanation of my present position as I can make.

THE great fundamental ideals which motivated and inspired my long service in the Socialist ranks have not undergone any serious modification or change, I think. Note that I refer here to the "fundamental ideals," not to the political convictions and hopes. Briefly stated, those ideals are: A democratic political state, with government responsive to the common will, yet generous in its regard for minorities, untiring in its efforts for international accord and peace, progressively striving toward the goal of each for all and all for each; a system of industrial democracy, providing a communism of opportunity out of which individual freedom and the incentives to individual achievement and expression flow with ever-increasing amplitude and opulence. To those ideals I hold with unabated loyalty and devotion.

SOCIALISM does not now seem to me to be the way to the realization of those ideals. As a programme, and equally as a movement based upon that programme, Socialism now appears to me to be quite obsolete. It is wholly irrelevant to life—in the old legalistic phraseology, irrelevant, immaterial, and inconsequential. If our American Socialists who so glibly affirm themselves to be Marxists really comprehended the teachings of Marx, it would require no argument to convince them of this. Surely, my friend, I do not need to remind you that it is the essence of Marxian theory that the complete development of capitalism is a prerequisite of Socialism, that the Socialist state can only come as the logical outcome of a fully matured and perfected capitalist economy. We may liken it to a rose which opens from a bud. The bud is developed capitalism, Socialism is the full-blown rose.

THAT is the classic Socialist theory. It lies at the heart of Marxism. Very well. Let me ask you, as I would ask all my old Socialist friends, is there any rational sanction for believing that the state of capitalism throughout the world to-day is such as to warrant the conclusion that it is complete or measurably nearing completion, that it is incapable of further progress except by mutation into something different, namely, Socialism? Has the system reached that *impasse* at which no further channels for profitable investment are discernible? To state the proposition clearly is to overwhelm it with ridicule. The plain fact is that the strains of the war and the post-war period have destroyed so much of the world's capital, so much of its organization, and created such necessity for their replacement, as to warrant us in saying that all the energies of the capitalists of the civilized world will be taxed for many years to come to find vast sums of new capital and to bring capitalism back to where it stood in 1914. Not for a full century has there been such an opportunity for the investor. Instead of being fully developed and ready for its mutation into Socialism, capitalism is back to where it was in the heyday of its expansion, early in the nineteenth century. For at least a generation to come capitalism will be expanding. That is the irrefragable logic of life. The world is clamoring for new investment capital, the number of investors is increasing at a rate we have never known in our day. We are at the beginning of a vast extension of the capitalist system, with an unprecedented augmentation of the class vitally interested in its success, the investor class.

SUCH are the stern realities. Life is inexorable. If we are realists and not mere romanticists, we shall not waste time in repining. Still less shall we attempt to ignore the truth. I at least decline to waste time in futile brooding, trying to imagine in the ashes of yesterday's fires the splendid flames that made yesterday glow. I have a sentimental, reminiscent interest in Socialism to-day—the ashes bring memories of the crackling flames and witching odors—but no more. I know that Socialism is obsolete, rendered obsolete by life. So be it. Why should I weep among the ashes while the morning bell calls to the labors of the new day?

WHEREVER Socialists are numerous enough to be a political force that matters, and especially where they have had to assume the obligations and responsibilities that come with electoral victories, the leaders of the movement have recognized these things. At the end of 1920, when I was in Sweden, I asked Branting, the Socialist Prime Minister, what he and his colleagues of the Social Democratic Government proposed to do toward the realization of the Socialist ideal, what distinctively Socialist measures they proposed to carry out. He told me then quite frankly that they did not propose to do anything of the kind. To keep up the rate of exchange, maintain

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the volume of foreign trade, keep taxes as low as possible, avoid disturbances at home and friction with neighboring states, and give moral support to well-considered plans for restoring political and economic conditions in Europe—such was the admirable programme that Branting outlined. There was nothing that was distinctively Socialist in it, some of it was contrary to the traditional Socialist position. Any patriotic Swede, however bitterly opposed to Socialism he might be, could support the programme, as the King of Sweden himself did. All through Europe wherever Socialists were politically influential the leaders took the same realistic view. But here in the United States, where the Socialist Party is simply an insignificant rebellious minority, essentially alien, Socialists have learned nothing from the events of the past ten years. They repeat the old formulas, in the old way, unchanged.

II

WHEN I gave expression to these views before a Jewish audience in New York, my friend Rabbi Schulman spoke with genuine feeling of the "pathos" of my experience. He imagined me as the victim of a bitter disappointment. Let me beg you not to make the same mistake. The Socialism upon which I relied for the realization of certain great ideals, and for which I worked in the interest of those ideals, has proved a bruised and broken reed, ineffective and entirely impotent. Progress in the direction of the cherished ideals has not been halted, however. We have not slumped back into the evils of the worst phases of the capitalist era, but, on the contrary, have made, and are now making, quite remarkable progress toward the socialization of the advantages of life. The increasing diffusion of opportunity is the most remarkable feature of our progress as a nation. In the United States to-day economic and cultural advantages to the degree essential to a high standard of living are the prerogatives of a privileged class to a less extent than ever before, and, equally important, to a far less extent than in any other country, with the possible exception of the Australasian commonwealths.

DO not misunderstand me. There are still glaring inequalities of status and of opportunity to be removed when and as we can. We are a long way from the perfect social state. Everywhere there is challenge to further progress. My contention is simply that we are steadily progressing toward the goal of a genuine social democracy, a goal perhaps dimly perceived. Despite the absence of any Socialist movement worthy of the name, we are much nearer the ideal of social democracy than any nation of the Old World. Along lines peculiarly American, answering American needs, conforming to American conditions and experience, we are evolving a new type of socialization which I would call Socialism but for the fear that to do so would invite further confusion where too much already exists. Let us therefore continue to call it socialization. When I talked with Bertrand Russell last spring, I told him that America was farther advanced toward the realization of a worthy social democracy than any other country, that we are steadily and surely, though more or less unconsciously, progressing toward a new type of communism, based upon private property and individualism. Master of paradox though he is, our English friend seemed to be quite unable to comprehend my meaning. The European mind can hardly be expected to do so.

THE basic weakness of Socialism, from the American point of view, is the fact that it is essentially a product of European experience and culture. Its theories and its programmes are the results of European minds working upon European conditions in the light of European history. My withdrawal from the Socialist Party at the time of our entrance into the World War, and from immersion in its propaganda and politics, gave me the detachment and the objective vision enabling me to realize its cardinal weakness in this regard. I know now that there is very little in the major theories of Socialism, and likewise in its programme, that bears any relevance to American life. The theory of the class struggle as Marx outlined it corresponds to the experience of the Old World with its rigid social categories, but it does not correspond to our highly flexible social order. In the one case the son of an artisan or a peasant generally accepts his heritage of status as permanent and practically unchangeable. The concomitant of this is a strong instinct of class loyalty. In the other case the son of working-class parents pretty generally regards his heritage of status as incidental and accidental, to be exchanged almost at will. There is no sense of belonging permanently to the class in which he finds himself, and, consequently, no such instinct of class loyalty as the European worker has. The intense class consciousness to which European Socialism has always appealed does not, and I think cannot, flourish in the soil of American conditions. (I may add that as a result of the World War Europe is changing in this respect, but with that we are not here and now concerned.)

TURN from the basic theories to practical programmes, and you will at once see the same irrelevance to American life. I have long been rather cynically amused by the superficiality of our so-called intellectuals who so stridently proclaim their liberalism, and even their radicalism. With one accord they have glorified the programme of the British Labor Party and urged its adoption here as the charter of a new freedom. With the merits of that programme as applied to the country for which it was conceived and formulated I am not now concerned. My only concern is to point out that the proposal to adopt it for this country is silly and at the same time retrogressive rather than progressive. There is almost nothing in that programme of a distinctly Socialist character which fits American life or bears any relevance to it.

TAKE as a single illustration the most pressing problem with which any Labor or Socialist government must cope in England, the housing of the working people. By reason of its history and its institutions, especially its land laws, England has a population in which individual home ownership is not the well-nigh universal aspiration which marks our own people. The average British artisan does not expect to own his own home. Solutions of the housing problem are practically all based upon state and municipal enterprise. Houses are to be built by public authorities and rented to the people, theoretically, at any rate, upon the basis of a rental covering cost of construction and maintenance. In this country, on the other hand, with the exception of the largest cities, individual home ownership is common in practice and the aspiration to own one's home is almost a universal instinct. Here it is inconceivable that our States and municipalities should go into the building and renting of houses on any large scale. We seek our solution of the problem, not in such extensions of governmental functions, but in private property and individual enterprise. In the average small town—and this is a nation of small towns—the ordinary worker who is reasonably industrious and thrifty can acquire his own home. Millions have done so. On the basis of private property and individual enterprise we have approached much closer to a solution of the problem than England or any other country has yet done or is likely to do in the near future. And the solution we have reached is as different from that of England as our conditions are different from those of England. Even in the case of our largest cities, where the problem is admittedly different and more difficult,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

we are making headway along the lines of voluntary co-operation and private property. A highly socialized individualism is the best phrase I can think of to apply to our American method.

I REPEAT, there is nothing in the Socialism evolved out of European experience and conditions that can afford sound guidance to us. As against the schemes of nationalization, which inevitably require extensive bureaucracy for their administration, we advance under the urge of our own experience toward industrial democracy along the way of socialized individualism. Instead of Government ownership we are reaching out toward popular ownership, thanks to conditions which have permitted a high standard of living plus a marginal surplus unequaled in the history of the world. In the case of our public utilities, popular ownership has proceeded at such a rate that all schemes of nationalization or municipalization begin to appear antiquated, retrogressive, and not progressive. Imposing upon private property and individual initiative and enterprise the limitations and restraints of an active and increasingly sensitive social consciousness, we are attaining a genuine socialization of results, of advantage, without the deadly repression which seems to be inseparable from bureaucracy. I am not pessimistic about America, therefore, but exultantly optimistic.

III

HERE, then, is the intellectual background from which I have approached the issues in the pending campaign. Obviously it is not Socialism in the historic and accepted meaning of the term. Neither is it individualism in the old sense of *laissez faire*. Frankly, I do not care what you call it. I call myself a Liberal Progressive, despite the fact that I am fully aware that our decadent intellectuals have debased those noble words. The ideals I hold and seek to serve, which I have attempted to outline for you, seem to me to be incontestably and essentially progressive and liberal.

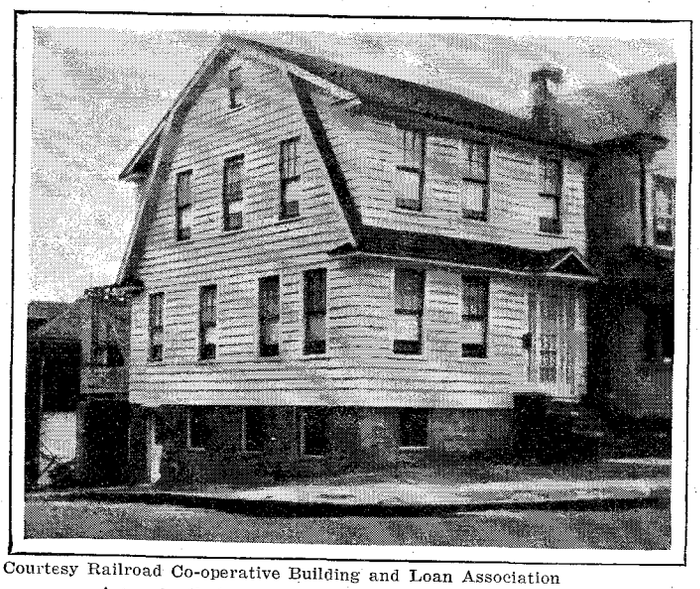
JUDGING the principal candidates for the Presidency from the standpoint of the social ideals and intellectual convictions I have come to hold, Senator La Follette appears to me to be far inferior to either President Coolidge or Mr. Davis. The Senator's personal character is not in dispute. I have great admiration for him personally, and do not question his sincerity, his honesty of purpose, or his devotion to what he believes to be right. His social philosophy I hold to be antiquated, his political programme to be alien in conception and inimical to the orderly evolution of our life, and his foreign policy to be pregnant with possibility of disaster, not to this Nation alone, but to mankind. He is the ultra-reactionary candidate in this campaign. That he should be so widely hailed as a progressive and the champion and leader of the liberal cause is a remarkable illustration of the facility with which phrases can be substituted for ideas in our political discussions.

LET me ask you to consider, briefly, some of the principal reasons which have led me to this sweeping condemnation of La Follette's programme and policies. Because he has made such a direct appeal to the farmers, and it is believed that he will get such a large vote in the agricultural districts on account of that appeal, it is pertinent to inquire into his attitude upon the agrarian question. He and his associates are holding out to the farmers the old illusory hope that the Federal Government can aid them; that special legislative devices can give them assurance of constant and uninterrupted prosperity, even protecting them against their own mistakes. If human experience counts for anything at all, Governmental price-fixing and similar measures would prove the beginning of the enslavement of the farmers. Not only so, but it would greatly accelerate that process of bureaucratization which has already progressed dangerously far, and to arrest which is one of the greatest needs of our time. I am quite certain that no lasting good to the farmer can result from special legislation designed to surround him with special advantage or protection. The whole La Follette movement in the agrarian districts is characterized by a demagogic promise to so legislate that the farmer can sell his products at uniformly high prices and buy the goods and services he needs at uniformly low prices. It cannot be done. If Senator La Follette believes it can be, he is unfit for the Presidency. Government cannot help the special interests of the farmers. This can be most effectively done by the co-operation of the farmers themselves. Not the least of my objections to La Follette's entire campaign is the fact that it tends to divert attention from the only constructive and helpful movement that holds any assured promise to the American farmer—the co-operative movement. Against the reality of practical and increasingly fruitful achievement La Follette sets a futile and discredited fantasy.

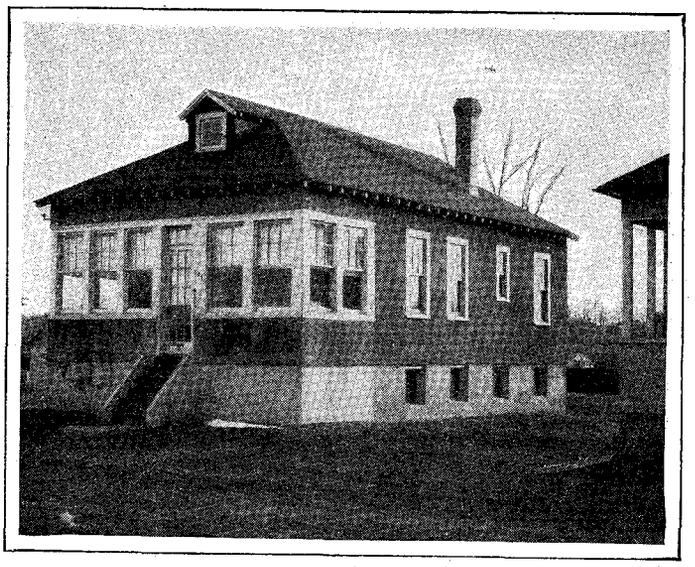
SENATOR LA FOLLETTE is pledged to the nationalization of the railroads and practically all other great public utilities. But an important section of his motley following expressly repudiates this. When I commented upon this part of the Senator's avowed programme in a published interview, Mr. William English Walling rushed into print with a declaration that it was not an issue, because, forsooth, the American Federation of Labor—for which he is understood to speak with authority—had expressly "disassociated" itself from the programme, just as it had "disassociated" itself from Senator La Follette's foreign policies. But Senator La Follette is the candidate we are asked to elect, and it is his programme we are asked to approve—not that of the American Federation of Labor. Of course it is interesting to know that the formal indorsement of Senator La Follette is accompanied by an explicit repudiation of all the Senator's foreign policy and the major part of his economic programme. Will you not please note this fact and regard its citation as my reply to your suggestion that "surely the fact that the American Federation of Labor indorses La Follette proves that he is a true progressive and not the reactionary you make him appear." Never before in American politics, I venture to say, was the "indorsement" of a candidate for any important office accompanied by a disavowal or repudiation of that candidate's principal policies. The American Federation has "disassociated itself" from La Follette's foreign policy and from his major economic policy—nationalization of railroads and other public utilities. Further comment would be an affront to your intelligence.

TO speak of the great public utilities of to-day as "monopolies," as Senator La Follette habitually does, without making clear wherein they differ from those forms of ownership to which a sinister meaning is attached, is to misuse language and make it the vehicle for distortion and intellectual confusion. As a means of attaining the greatest socialization of advantage, Governmental ownership and operation of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, and similar public utilities now appears to me to be inherently inferior to the new type of enterprise we are so rapidly developing, characterized by popular ownership, representative management, and social regulation. For this reason, if for no other, the proposal to introduce nationalization upon the scale favored by the Senator cannot be accurately described as other than reactionary. In essence it is a proposal to check arbitrarily the natural evolution of American economic life along lines prescribed by its own needs and experience, and to force it into chan-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Courtesy Railroad Co-operative Building and Loan Association
A two-family house owned by a New York City motorman



A house built and owned by a New York City postal clerk

"The ordinary worker who is reasonable, industrious, and thrifty can acquire his own home. . . . In the case of our largest cities we are making headway along the lines of voluntary co-operation. . . . There is nothing in the Socialism evolved out of European experience and conditions that can afford sound guidance to us"

nels prescribed by European needs and experience. It could not conceivably be accomplished without a tremendous centralization of governmental power at the expense of democracy and a perilous increase of bureaucracy. These things must inevitably occur, even if the scheme should work as well as its most enthusiastic advocates promise.

But the proposal must be considered reactionary for a quite different reason, namely, the certainty that any attempt to carry it into effect, or even such a result of the election as would make it appear probable that the nationalization of railroads would be seriously attempted, could not fail to produce far-reaching adverse influences on the international economic situation. It is a remarkable illustration of the manner in which a matter that is primarily of domestic interest and concern, and in normal circumstances would be entirely so, under certain conditions becomes so much a matter of international interest and concern that we are compelled to regard it as part of our foreign policy, because it vitally affects our relations with other nations. It is clear to all mankind that as a result of ruinous war and its no less ruinous aftermath several great nations are to-day in a precarious economic position. Their recovery is unquestionably dependent upon their ability to get large assistance from more prosperous nations in the varied forms of loans and credits of unprecedented volume and equally unprecedented streams of investment capital. Only by such agencies has Austria survived and been able to begin her recovery. Only by such agencies can Russia ever hope to recover—a fact admitted by Communists and Czarists alike. By no other agencies whatever can Germany conceivably be saved to civilization. That is the central fact upon which the acceptance of the Dawes Report is based. There are several other nations in Europe whose position is hardly less critical. They are equally dependent upon the same agencies for their actual existence.

No sane man, and certainly no statesman, can deny, or even dispute, the accuracy of these statements. Very well. What greater catastrophe could there be, what disaster to civilization more terrible, than any political or economic occurrence making it impossible for the greatest and richest nation on earth to extend to these critically weak and tottering nations the economic support they need? To ask the question is to answer it with terrible emphasis. Let me ask a further question: Suppose that as a result of the election of Mr. La Follette and a sufficiently large number of his followers the nationalization of our railroads should immediately appear as an imminent possibility. Is it conceivable that foreign loans could be successfully floated in this country, that immense credits could be given to foreign nations by our manufacturers and merchants, or that our people would feel like investing in European enterprises? Once more, to ask the question clearly and sincerely is to answer it with terrible emphasis. The effect of bringing Senator La Follette's ideas into the sphere of immediately practical politics would be to paralyze the one arm that is stretched forth to succor the nations and preserve civilization, the one arm in which there is adequate strength for the great task. The election of Senator La Follette would in all probability kill the Dawes Plan by destroying all chances of successfully marketing German securities, and in so doing would play into the hands of the most vicious and reactionary element in Germany, the remnant of the old irreconcilable militarists who are ceaselessly fostering ideas of hate and revenge. It would condemn Germany to go the way of Russia. Test this reasoning by whatever criteria you will, examine it by the light of history and human experience, bring to it the acid test of enlightened conscience, and then tell me if I err in decrying this policy of Senator La Follette as being, in the circumstances, the blackest of black reaction.

As surely as the reflex action of his major economic proposals upon the international situation would play into the hands of the most sinister and dangerous group of German reactionaries, so his proposed foreign policy would strengthen the same group. It might well have been formulated by a committee consisting of Herren von Hindenburg, von Ludendorff, and von Tirpitz, so thoroughly identical with their propaganda is it, both in the letter and the spirit. In the name of peace and humanity he and his misguided followers would have the United States halt the healing of the wounds of the war, reopen them, and rekindle old hatreds and kindle new ones. The specific policy they propose for this Nation could not possibly be pursued without disaster to civilization. Our representatives participated largely in shaping the Treaty of Versailles. The Senate refused to ratify that Treaty, and thereby condemned this Nation to shift from its beneficent rôle to the tragic one of marplot so far as Europe was concerned. That

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

action of the Senate greatly aggravated every tragic and perilous phase of the European situation. That the Treaty of Versailles contains unfortunate elements is true, of course. There are elements of romantic nationalism and there are elements of vengeance. But, when all its defects and deficiencies are admitted, it remains the fact that no peace treaty following a great war was ever conceived with so much conscientious regard for justice and lasting peace. For one, I refuse to make my own the indictment of the treaty drawn up by reactionary German militarists. Be that as it may, however, the fairly obvious fact is that the general acceptance of the Treaty of Versailles by Germany was the necessary first step toward the restoration of normal life in Europe. The German Socialists, together with other German progressive groups, have seen this clearly. They have realized that the first necessity was to get to work upon the basis of the Treaty, confident that with the rapid cooling of the worst passions engendered by the Great War opportunity must inevitably arise for such modifications of the terms of the Treaty as might commend themselves to the enlightened conscience of mankind. That, I submit, is the only sane view, the only liberal and progressive view to take.

SENATOR LA FOLLETTE and his friends do not take that view. They insistently demand that the United States step in and demand a thorough revision of the Treaty of Versailles. That is the one concrete measure of foreign policy that La Follette announces. What comfort the indorsement of that policy by our electorate would be to the Prussian militarists who still dream of "Der Tag"! Can you or any other human being imagine anything more certainly calculated to plunge European civilization into chaos? It would build up the reaction in Germany and perhaps restore the Hohenzollern dynasty. It would crush the democratic and liberal elements of the country and in all probability drive them into alliance with the Russian Bolshevists. It is not without significance that the German Communists, yearning for just such a result, are at one with the monarchist reactionaries in advocating the identical measure which Senator La Follette has proclaimed to be his foreign policy. Imagine the confusion that would arise in Europe if the United States made such a demand, or even suggestion. What consternation for those new nations and those restored nations whose charters are in the very structure of the Treaty of Versailles! Imagine, too, the many points of perilous friction that must be developed between the nations with which we were associated in the Great War. It is nothing less than an incitation to another decade of European war, unrest, and revolt. His championship of such a policy, instead of elevating La Follette to the Presidency, ought to result in his being driven in ignominy from our public life. Neither Kaiserism nor Czarism at its worst ever conceived a policy more inimical to the peace of the world and its ordered freedom. That, my good friend, is my calm and deliberate judgment.

I COME to the proposal to so amend the Constitution of the United States that the Congress shall be the final judge of the constitutionality of its own enactments. This is to be accomplished through giving Congress the power to override the veto of the Supreme Court by simply re-enacting a measure declared by the Court to be unconstitutional. You remind me that this proposal was contained in the platform of the Socialist Party while I was a member of it, and that therefore I was at least tacitly committed to it, and you inquire whether I have changed my opinion upon this question, and, if so, why.

THE facts are as you state them. The proposal was in the platform of the Socialist Party, and inferentially at least I was committed to it. As a matter of fact, I gave the matter little thought or attention, one way or the other, for many years. It was, to my mind, a minor detail, a mere incidental appendage to the fundamental statement of Socialist aim and policy. I dare say that no platform is ever wholly acceptable in all its details to any person of independent judgment. However, I am convinced now that the proposed "reform" would be a calamity. Senator La Follette has charged again and again that great and powerful interests brought to bear upon Congress such malign—even corrupt—influence as to induce it to enact legislation inimical to the interests of the many and benefiting only the privileged few. I protest that he cannot have both the negative and the affirmative at one and the same time. If the charge he has so often brought, that Congress is vulnerable to such insidious approaches, is true, then his proposal is self-condemned, for a body so easily capable of such malign and sinister control is assuredly not fitted to be the final arbiter of the liberties of a people.

NOW I am not a constitutional lawyer, but I can see quite clearly that in practice this proposed plan would permit frequent and conflicting amendments to the Constitution, for if a law should be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court and then re-enacted by Congress, that re-enactment would be in effect, though perhaps not in form, an amendment to the Constitution. Let me suppose that Congress enacted a law permitting the manufacture and sale of drinks containing alcohol to the extent of eight or ten per cent, limiting the applicability of the term "intoxicating liquors" to compounds containing a higher percentage of alcohol. Let me suppose, further, that the Supreme Court ruled this to be in contravention of the Eighteenth Amendment and therefore unconstitutional. By merely re-enacting the law in question Congress would, in practical effect, repeal the Eighteenth Amendment. The possibilities of contradictory and irreconcilable *de facto* amendments of this sort are, obviously, almost unlimited. It would mean the end of a stable and definite Constitutional delimitation of our legislation. It would be, in effect, a revolution in our theory and practice of government, placing us on a basis identical, in its practical effects, with those nations which do not have written constitutions at all. That would be an impairment of our liberties far greater than any man has ever before dared to propose—to say nothing of attempting. Even if we admit all that Senator La Follette charges against the Supreme Court, its menace to fundamental personal rights is, at the worst, incomparably less than that which is inherent in the proposed reform, which is in fact not a reform at all, but a revolution.

I AM well aware that all this must sound old-fashioned and extremely conservative to you, but before you dismiss it on that account let me call your attention to a significant fact. The Socialists of Germany were in full control of the Constitutional Assembly of the German Reich. Ebert, an old Socialist, was elected President of the Reich. In formulating a constitution for the Reich they had the experience of all other nations, including ours, from which to draw. They had our Constitution, our history, and the indictments and criticisms that have been made. Yet they deliberately wrote into the Federal Constitution which they adopted a provision investing the highest court with the power to pass upon the constitutionality of laws enacted by the Parliament. They saw no other way to protect the rights of minorities against the tyranny of political majorities, or of conserving fundamental personal liberties. I respectfully submit that in no country in the world is there greater need of solicitude for these things than in our own. In the presence of the Ku Klux Klan and in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cessant propaganda against certain racial and religious minorities I hold that Senator La Follette's proposal to place absolute power in the hands of Congress should be opposed by every man and woman who cares for freedom and ordered progress.

PERSONALLY, I shall vote for Coolidge, notwithstanding that my admiration for Mr. Davis is very great and that I feel more akin to him in many ways. Believing as I do in the League of Nations, I could not feel otherwise toward Mr. Davis. But the platform which he has accepted so ties his hands upon this great issue that he could not honorably do anything, in the event of his election, to facilitate our entrance into the League. The fantastic referendum to which he is now committed can only be an obstacle, making our entrance into the League more difficult. Balancing all the facts, as I see them, I find myself impelled to urge the retention of the present Administration, mainly because that will mean the continuation of Secretary Hughes in office and the uninterrupted development of those policies, inaugurated by him, which are so steadily making for the restoration of European civilization.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN SPARGO.

Music as a Vocation for Americans

By HUGO RIESENFELD

"The American can now afford to be a musician"

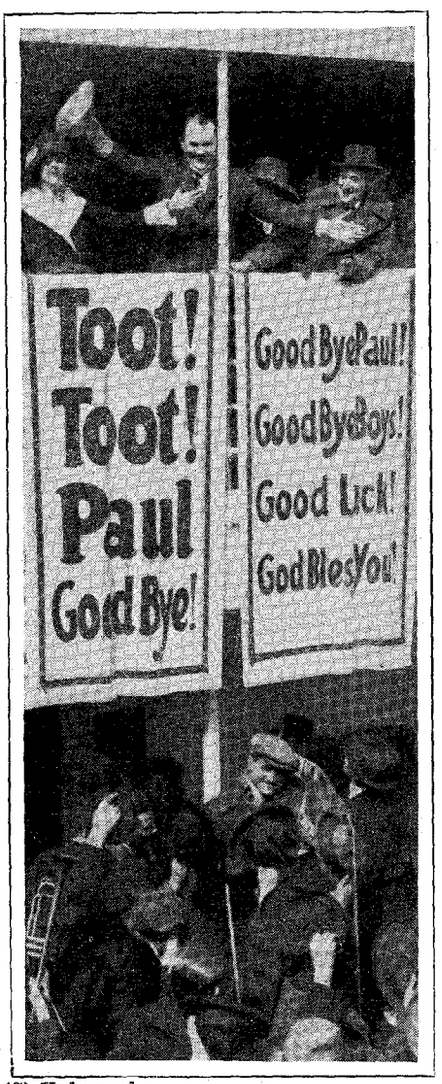
THE American is primarily a practical man. When he chooses a profession, he ordinarily has in the back of his mind the monetary return. He may be willing to struggle at the start, but he wants to be able to look forward to a time when he will be able to spread out and enjoy the comforts of life.

Until very recently the field of music offered no such inducement. The man who chose to be an instrumentalist, unless he were a Kreisler or a Heifetz, has had to face a life of endless scrimping. There has been little chance of his retiring on the savings of his youth. He has had to go on scraping his fiddle as long as he was fortunate enough to remain employed.

Even the finest symphony player up to a short time ago did not earn as much as the average second-rate business man. In banking, retailing, and almost every other regular line of business there is always a possibility of advancement to a responsible and highly paid position. The lowest clerk may become a railroad president. An instrumentalist, however, is always an instrumentalist, with a salary which at the maximum once permitted only a meager mode of living.

Is it any wonder, then, that Americans have been unwilling to employ their musical talents professionally? Is it surprising that at the most five per cent of the musicians in our orchestras are native-born? With the importance Americans place on recreation, their eagerness to give their families every comfort, can they be blamed for turning their backs on a vocation that calls for hard, grueling work and gives only a pittance in return?

But the time is at hand when music as a profession for Americans will no longer entail financial sacrifice. Rather it is becoming exceedingly profitable. The American musician is coming into his own. He has suddenly become a commercial asset, and as such his services are at a premium. Why? Because music of a distinctly American variety is sweeping the country—more than that, the entire world. The limelight of popularity is upon it. There is demand for it in the dance halls, in the concert halls, at social functions, in the theaters. Everywhere there is a cry for musicians who can play jazz well—no matter what the price.



(C) Underwood

Going—Paul Whiteman's band leaving New York City for a trip abroad to show Londoners the wonders of jazz

As a player of jazz no one can take the place of the American. His sense of rhythm is remarkable—stronger than that of any other nationality—and he can express that rhythm with a peculiar tang and buoyancy that cannot be duplicated. He may syncopate a bar in the wildest imaginable way, but, with absolute mathematical assurance, he is always ready for the down beat of the next bar.

The rapid, pulsating life in this country is largely responsible for the peculiar quality of its musical expression. The American has taken what was originally a Negro rhythm and grafted on to it the natural tempo of his own existence. He has produced something that is distinctively his own.

Well-known musicians—Mengelburg, Stransky, Damrosch—have listened with enjoyment to the music of Paul Whiteman, and displayed a real professional interest in this unique type of music. Amusement is constantly expressed over the versatility of Americans, many of whom are able to play four or five different instruments in a single composition. Especially do our drummers cause comment, with the number of their instruments continually multiplying with the fecundity of rabbits. There is hardly a week that passes without some entirely new effect being produced.

The lip facility of our brass-instrument players is the envy of every other na-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(C) Keystone

Returning—Freak jazz players welcome Paul Whiteman's band on its home-coming from Europe

tion. "How do you account for it?" I am frequently asked. I am unable to do so, any more than I could account for the agility of the wood-winds I have heard play in Italian bands. It is a natural gift.

Other nations have been caught by the contagion of jazz and have tried to adopt it, but without success. There is nothing more pathetic than to hear European orchestras trying to imitate American rhythm. They play it in perfectly counted time, just as they would faultlessly play an overture or symphony. The result is much like watching a tennis match played with dead balls.

None but the American seems to be able to give jazz that magical touch which has been responsible for its long hold on the public fancy. It is a purely American product—as much so as though it were protected by tariff laws or patents.

Jazz musicians are to-day the highest paid of the *ensemble* or orchestra instrumentalists. Many of them earn two, three, and even four hundred dollars a week—a salary which compares favorably even with those paid in the business field, not to mention the musician who combines his musical ability with business sense, such as Whiteman, Lopez, Lange, Specht, whose income would make a bank director green with envy.

The American can now afford to be a musician. He is no longer forced to abandon his inclination to play a guitar and become a necktie salesman so that his family may not go hungry. If he finds it more agreeable to wield a baton than attend corporation meetings, he can do so.

The musical profession is no longer associated with strange, long-haired individuals with shabby clothes and lean pocketbooks. I myself can remember the days when an instrumentalist appearing with a spotless collar and pressed trousers would have been held up to ridicule by his fellows. *Tempi passati!* The musician of the "La Bohème" variety, considered picturesque and amusing because of his unkempt appearance, is no more. In his place is the modern species—as neatly and correctly groomed as any successful business man, and thought none the less an artist because of his immaculate appearance.

By being placed on a commercial footing the profession has attained dignity. Any one with musical ability can now capitalize it, both respectably and profitably.

Labor's Lady Minister

By Hugh A. Studdert Kennedy

How Margaret Bondfield traveled all the way from an outfitter's shop in Brighton to Westminster, and became the first woman to hold office in a British Government. Whether she will continue in office depends on the verdict rendered by the British voters on the date of this issue of The Outlook

IF I were asked what was the most noticeable tendency in Britain to-day, I think I should say it was a tendency to cut out the last ten years from national thought. By that I do not mean that the average English man or woman has any idea that a return can be made to pre-war days—for good or ill the face of all things is too much changed for that; the English do, however, quite naturally bridge over the years of the war and the early years of the peace and seek to attach the new lines of thought to the loose ends of 1914 rather than to those of any later year, and leave the terrible space in between out of account.

To one returning to England after several years abroad this is particularly noticeable. Every detail of the *annus mirabilis* 1914 is impressed in thought. The years that followed are a mere blur of horror. Many strange coincidences tend to heighten the effect or, rather, deepen the impression that 1924 is the other side of the chasm to 1914. At no fewer than three London theaters 1914 plays have been revived; fashions for men, if not for women, have come round full circle to much the same effect; the Guards are once more clad in scarlet; and the round of the London season is once again restored to its perfect order from the Oxford and Cambridge boat race in early spring to Goodwood and Cowes in late summer.

It was with some such thoughts as these that I made my way the other day to call on Margaret Bondfield, Britain's first woman Minister, at the House of Commons. With tremendous vividness my thoughts went back ten years to the days of the militant Suffragettes, to the days of burning churches and hunger striking, pavilion demonstrations, and the full blast of the Pankhurst militantism. In those days I recalled how those of us who believed in woman suffrage were in such small minority, and yet here was I crossing the busy Sanctuary, and on under the shadow of the Abbey to the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Houses of Parliament, to enter into conference with a woman member of the British Government. Here was I later on, still with the same thoughts, passing through the great doorway by St. Stephen's Hall, traversing the familiar lobbies, right up to the holy of holies, presided over by Gladstone, Disraeli, and other marble notables, from the high serenity of an assured position. Here was I questioning the same policemen—they must surely have been the same—here was I being passed on to the same messengers clad in the familiar evening dress and somber decoration. And here was I, under the same courteous guidance, passing along the familiar corridors of the "warren of St. Stephen's;" upstairs and downstairs, and, at last, literally enough, "in my lady's chamber." A few moments later I was talking to my lady herself.

There is something about Margaret Bondfield which is curiously refreshing. As, with many apologies, she completed some work upon which she was engaged when I entered, in order, as she put it, that she might feel herself quite free to talk, the recollections of ten years ago and away back beyond came upon me thick and fast. This small, alert, brown-eyed woman with her ready smile and her quick despatch in business, how typical she was of the new age! A pupil-teacher in a board school at the age of thirteen, I recalled how from the board school she had passed to an outfitter's shop in Brighton, and how, as the result of ten years behind the counter in London and the provinces, she had become an ardent trade-unionist. She was not yet thirty when, at the historic Trade Union Congress at Plymouth in 1899, she had spoken in support of the resolution from which the Labor Party took its origin. And so she had gone on, moving steadily but quietly into public notice, climbing the ladder of advancement by sheer ability until, at the Trade Union Congress held again in Plymouth about a year ago, she had been unanimously elected the first woman chairman of the General Council. Then last November, at the third attempt, she was returned to Westminster as Labor member for Northampton, and later on, when Ramsay MacDonald and his colleagues took over the reins of power, Margaret Bondfield was appointed parliamentary secretary of the Ministry of Labor. And then there was her war work—her wholehearted devotion to the common cause, her splendid labors in connection with the employment of women, and—but the desk is cleared and Miss Bondfield is speaking.

Well, this is not—must not be—an interview. Members of the Government do not give interviews, and indeed an interview was not at all the object of my visit. Our talk was quite informal and ranged over a wide field, but I remember with a curious satisfaction her eager interest in all things American. She asked me many questions about prohibition, about the Ku Klux Klan, about the reaction in America to this and that in England, always conveying welcome conviction that she realized the importance of it all. She had been to America, of course, and had very happy recollections of her visit; but she wanted to go again, and hoped that she might some day soon. As for me, like the Queen of Sheba, I told her all that was in my heart, and finally, after discussing many things, I asked her what she would regard as Labor's great achievement as far as Parliament was concerned.

To reveal her answer is no breach of confidence. Margaret Bondfield is a woman of action first and last, but she is also an idealist, and it was in her idealism that I was particularly interested—her works speak for themselves. Her answer was, as I expected it would be, drawn from the region of idealism. Labor was engaged in many useful works, the result of which would be immediate, but in after years, she ventured to think, the great achievement of Labor in these times would be seen in the change it was slowly but surely bringing about in the spirit and purpose of the House of Commons. The House of Commons was being transformed from a stadium to a workshop; the zest of service was taking the place of the zest of the game. "It is, of course," she said, quietly, "the same in every country; but in England, where the sporting interest is so strong, the great game of politics has long been regarded as the sport of sports. Only those who are in the thick of the party fight know the fullness of its fascination. And only those who know the fullness of its fascination can realize the greatness of Labor's achievement in introducing this other and higher incentive."

And from there we went on, from the discussion of national idealism to the discussion of international idealism and to the consideration of those ultimate hopes and aims which, however dimly outlined at present, still give point and purpose to present effort. And this alert, practical woman came with me all the way, taking up a point here and a point there which I might have neglected and enlarging and developing it, and then coming back to earth again eager and ready to make the "obvious next move."

Well, we had been talking for an hour or more, I should say, when a knock came to the door and a secretary entered to remind the lady Minister that a deputation of women was waiting to see her. And so I rose to take my leave. The last I saw of Margaret Bondfield she was shaking hands with a group of women, the same eager cordiality in her voice and action with which I had been greeted, the same air of quiet efficiency and despatch.

The next moment, through a quaint little side door, opened to me unexpectedly by an observant messenger, I emerged into the sunlight of Palace Yard. The inevitable policeman saluted me, and as he did so the thought of the "lost decade" came upon me overwhelmingly. It was all so much the same, and yet all so entirely different. I almost expected the newspaper boy just outside the great gates to be announcing "another Suffragette outrage." Then I remembered that the times had changed, and that we had changed with them, and that the Suffragette of yesterday had become the woman Minister of to-day.

(C) Walter Scott, Bradford

Margaret Bondfield, Britain's first Woman Minister

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Book Table

Man and His Ideas

Reviews by WOODBRIDGE RILEY

HERE are three books which give the latest opinions as to man and his ideas in the past, present, and future. Perry[1] takes up the origin of magic and religion; Joad,[2] the present movements in philosophy; and Lodge,[3] with his usual boldness, presents far-flung speculations as to the destiny of the human race. Of the three Perry is perhaps the most pertinent. Anthropology is in fashion in America largely because of the brevity of our own historic records. It is therefore of high interest to obtain the latest findings as to the remote sources of magic and religious thought and practice. Such are the primitive notions about death, the search for the earthly paradise, and the early speculations as to life and immortality. In studying these origins of mythology we have opened to us what might be called the suppressed complexes of the race, for the beliefs and practices of mankind during the prehistoric ages afford a revelation of primitive man's innermost thoughts and longings. Here the author goes back to that point in time when men of our own species, not apelike men, but men with modern brains, first appeared on the scene in western Europe. Where these men of the so-called Aurignacian stage of culture came from we do not know. But on their arrival they had already made some advance in the arts and crafts; they made implements of flint and bone, they painted on the walls of their caves pictures of the bear, the bison, and the mammoth, they were sculptors and left behind curious feminine images with the hips and other parts grossly exaggerated.

The last, according to Perry, was the beginning of religion, for the "great mother" was perhaps the first deity that man turned to for consolation and protection from the manifold dangers of this mortal life. Connected with the great mother as the symbol of birth were magic symbols significant of the continuation of life. As the life is in the blood, and as red is the color of blood, so every red substance could be the surrogate of blood. Such were carnelian and red coral, still used as amulets and charms on account of their supposed life-giving properties. Further, to be assured of life after death primitive men buried their dead packed round with red earth and provided with necklaces containing such "life-givers" as carnelian and such symbols of birth as the cowrie shell.

The scene next opens upon the remotest historic times. Egypt originates ideas about the future life. This is not a new reanimation of the buried body, but a continuation of conscious life. But this boon was not for all, for it lay in the hands of the gods, and the gods had their favorites. The ghost of the common man might live on in the tomb, but only priest or noble might gain a conscious immortality. The priests were the possessors of the secrets, and these they shared with kings and princes. All this grew up around the ritual of mummification. But here the funerary ritual was called for. Only through the elaborate offices of the living could the dead be brought to life and thus enabled to live in another world.

Thus far the author seems on safe ground. He has given us the new knowledge as to the men of old and connected fresh data in a logical whole. But in his account of the search for the earthly paradise his fancy runs away with him. It may be that men sought for a place on the earth where immortal life was to be enjoyed. But to claim that all these searches from the earliest Chinese dynasties to Ferdinand de Soto and his fountain of youth were derived from the Egyptians is going too far. Yet even more is claimed. The search for givers of life, from carnelian and coral to amber and gold, would seem to be but a natural quest of all men. Perry derives it from Egypt alone, and with it a new phase of civilization characterized by the building of monuments of large stones. It was because Egypt was the source of culture that the megalith buildings appeared in Britain at Stonehenge, in America among the mound builders, and incidentally in Korea and the islands of the South Pacific. This is too much. Instead of being "made in Germany," Perry's motto would seem to be "made in Egypt," at least as regards all forms of the higher culture. To say that all megaliths are derived from the examples on the Nile reminds one of the speculations of Piazzi Smyth with his curious book "Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid." Carried on to explain apparent Christian symbolism in Yucatan rock carvings, it appears as wild as the surmises of Ignatius Donnelly in his "Lost Atlantis." Perry's volume is an interesting supplement to older works like Frazer's "Golden Bough" and Tylor's "Primitive Culture," but those authors did not risk such glittering generalities as that the use of the givers of life had an origin, in the days of the Upper Paleolithic age, in the brain of one man.

From Perry we pass to another speculator, who deals with the future rather than with the past. Sir Oliver Lodge, distinguished as a scientist, has become notorious as a psychical researcher of the most extreme type. His "Making of Man" holds that mankind as such is in an early stage of evolution, having but recently risen from an animal ancestry; that man is unfinished, but that the prospect before him, being one of infinite progress, is one to which man, both incarnate and discarnate, can contribute by his own effort and good will. In this argument there is one suspicious word, and that is regarding man as discarnate. Here Lodge the scientist changes to Lodge the spiritist and follows his idol, Frederick Myers, and the latter's "Human Personality and the Survival of Bodily Death." It is curious how those caught in the meshes of spiritism pass rapidly from strict reasoning to loose assumptions. Lodge is famous for his work on the ether; along with this goes his book entitled "Raymond," which purports to give veridical messages from the departed. In this he resembles Conan Doyle, who abandons the logic of the Sherlock Holmes stories and takes up the vague generalizations of spiritism.

This passage from the natural to the supernatural is made early in Lodge's book. Assuming that communication between mind and mind through immaterial channels is proved by the phenomena of telepathy, he adds that we learn now that those who have departed this life communicate with us by speech and writing, just as they did when here. Upon this assumption of the truth of telepathy, both local and long distance, Lodge's book is built. The chapters upon "The Development of Man," "The Destiny of Man," and "Transcendental Man" are especially based on this. Yet what is the evidence at present? The large majority of professional psychologists, at least in academic circles, would render a Scotch verdict of not proven as to telepathic messages, although a small group of trained observers is now work-

[1] The Origin of Magic and Religion. By W. J. Perry. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $2.50.

[2] Introduction to Modern Philosophy. By C. E. M. Joad. The Oxford University Press, London and New York. $1.

[3] The Making of Man. By Sir Oliver Lodge. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $2.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SCRIBNERS

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

announce the publication of the
ATLANTIC EDITION *of the works of*

H. G. WELLS

Limited

© *Paul Thompson*

Autographed

THIS achievement represents the first effort to put into adequate form the works of this master of letters. It is a monument to Mr. Wells and an enviable collection to have in the library of any home. Only one thousand copies will be printed for sale in the whole country. There will never be more. After printing the type will be destroyed.

This edition represents the best traditions of American bookmaking. Printed directly from type—the beautiful, clear-faced Scotch Roman. Wide margins. Decorative initials by Edward Edwards. Pure rag deckle-edge paper specially made with "H. G. W." watermark. Binding, buckram back, paper label, French handmade green paper sides with stamped monogram. The beauty of these volumes is evidence that craftsmanship in the United States has reached new heights.

The details of this exclusive and distinguished work are fully set forth in an attractive brochure, copy of which we shall be pleased to send you.

Ok.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
597 Fifth Avenue, New York

Send, without obligation to me, a copy of the H. G. WELLS *brochure.*

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Literary Tid Bit of the Season

In some it has aroused violent denunciation —in others, the highest praise. It is the book all America and all Europe will read this year.

Uncensored Recollections

ANONYMOUS

"This is about the most entertaining volume of intimate memoirs the reviewer has read for many seasons. For piquant and racy revelation of character and incident revolving around the eccentricities, pleasures and vices of the great and near-great of the last half of the Victorian period, the anonymous author is to be highly commended. Interminable gossip about personalities of international notoriety and fame, gossip and banter that are fascinating and thrilling to encounter, run through the volume like the swift flow of a swollen stream."—*N. Y. Herald-Tribune.* Octavo. 340 Pages. $4.50

HARBOTTLE

By John Hargrave

"A book of more than passing interest. Indeed, it is not too much to call it a novel of great importance, as an expression of the spirit of the times. Many of the episodes are dramatic, and all are realistic. Mr. Hargrave owes much to H. G. Wells, but his thought is his own, though its great significance lies in the fact that it is also an up-to-date expression of the chief idea at work in 'The Mind of the Race.'"—*Saturday Review, New York City.* $2.00

LOUIS BECKE'S

Never-To-Be-Forgotten South Sea Tales Now Published in a Uniform Edition

For twenty-eight years Louis Becke lived the life of the Pacific and wrote of what he lived. In his works readers will find the real South Seas. Strangely true stories of the days when "bluff-bowed old wave-punchers plunged their clumsy hulls into the rolling swell of the Pacific."

PACIFIC TALES. $2.00
BY REEF AND PALM and **THE EBBING OF THE TIDE.** $2.00
RODMAN THE BOATSTEERER. $2.00
HELEN ADAIR. $2.00

SEEING CANADA, by John T. Faris—A vivid description of the glories of the Dominion which completes Dr. Faris' popular American Travel Series, now covering every section of the United States and Canada. Frontispiece in color, 150 illustrations in double tone. $6.50

EVERLASTING LIFE, by William W. Keen, M.D. —A comforting faith; a satisfying belief. It will help to bring order out of chaos in modern Christian thinking. Support and consolation on a question which more than any other has troubled the hearts of men. $1.00

PRISONS AND COMMON SENSE, by Thomas Mott Osborne—Shall our prisons protect society or remain breeding places for crime? A brilliant discussion of a vital national problem by a man who has devoted his life to prison reform. $1.25

OUR FAITH IN EDUCATION, by Henry Suzzallo, President, University of Washington. "The little book is vibrant with the finest kind of spirit and breathes the warmest faith in the beneficent function of our school system in the successful working out of our democratic philosophy."—**The Times Book Review.** $1.25

LIPPINCOTT'S SOCIOLOGICAL SERIES

Edited by

Edward Gary Hayes, Ph.D., LL.D., University of Illinois. Books that apply scientific methods to social thought.

CRIMINOLOGY—By **Edwin H. Sutherland,** Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Illinois. Tentative price, $3.50

RACES, NATIONS AND CLASSES—The Psychology of Dominion and Freedom. By **Herbert Adolphus Miller,** Oberlin College. Tentative price, $2.00

THE SOCIOLOGY OF REVOLUTION—By **P. Sorokin,** formerly Professor of Sociology, University of Petrograd. Tentative price, $2.00

POLITICAL ACTION—A naturalistic interpretation of the Labor Movement in relation to the State. By **Seba Eldridge,** University of Kansas. $2.00

POPULATION PROBLEMS—By **Edward B. Reuter,** University of Iowa. $2.00

SOCIAL WORK IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY—By **Stuart Alfred Queen,** University of Kansas. $2.00

AT ALL BOOKSTORES

J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY

London PHILADELPHIA Montreal

ing on that subject. As for communications with the departed, we note that the last number of the "Proceedings of the American Society of Psychical Research" offers only one very dubious case, called "The Mother of Doris," and that carried on through a previous convert to the spiritistic theory.

Yet on such "evidences" as this for survival Lodge goes on to develop his "Ether-working Hypothesis." Assuming that "Life" is a thing in itself, a principle apart from the organism, he sees life taking the opportunity of entering into relation with matter at every turn. It presses forward into material existence on every heap of rubbish. It seems to utilize every chance, whenever the conditions allow, for incarnation. Surely it will have utilized the ether also. The author adds that the writers of half a century ago in their book entitled "The Unseen Universe" speculated in this direction. He might have gone back to Joseph Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen, who in his theory of the homogeneity of man claimed that humanity appeared at that point where matter was made fine enough and spirit coarse enough to coalesce. This homogeneous substance is apparently revived in Lodge's search for a third somewhat to bridge the gap between matter and mind. To him this is the ether as something more fundamental than matter, something of which matter is only a sensuous manifestation. For all that, Lodge himself casts doubts on his ether-working hypothesis, for he confesses that science knows nothing of ultimates. Nevertheless he goes on to speculate as to the future and takes up the destiny of man in this "the best of all possible worlds."

Here the author's outlook is distinctly antiquated. Assuming that this *is* the best of all possible worlds, he goes back to arguments that sound like the Bridgewater Treatises. To prove design in the universe he says, for example, that eyes came to the front of the head, where they were most needed, while ears remained at the side, where they would be most useful.

After these two uncritical works it is a relief to turn to a book describing things as they are and not as they might have been or may be. Joad's "Introduction to Modern Philosophy" is a veritable *tour de force.* It describes the most recent movements in metaphysics, with all their difficulties, in clear and concise form. Of these the pragmatism of William James is perhaps the only one familiar to the American public. Because of the lucidity and pungency of his style James could present his philosophy of practicality in a way that would make even the

Books of Beauty and Excellence

VOYAGING

SOUTHWARD FROM THE STRAIT OF MAGELLAN
BY ROCKWELL KENT

THE RIVER OF LIFE
By J. ST. LOE STRACHEY
The editor of the Spectator gives a charming record of his experiences and thoughts in the world of politics, letters and the arts. $5.00

THOSE EUROPEANS
By SISLEY HUDDLESTON
"The presentation of men, motives and issues in post-war Europe—at once illuminating and entertaining."—New York Times. $2.50

SUPERS and SUPERMEN
By PHILIP GUEDALLA
Sparkling new studies of the most interesting moderns and historicals.
At all Booksellers $2.50

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
2 West 45th Street, New York

CAN YOU ANSWER THESE QUESTIONS?

1. *Why did British Labor welcome its recent defeat?*
2. *In the coming election will the Labor Party come back into power as the Majority Power?*
3. *If so, what will be its policy in Foreign affairs?*
4. *What are the Real Purposes and Principles of the British Labor Party?*

These are important questions to the Business Men and the Thinking Public of America.

They are dealt with in a remarkable volume just off the press, by J. Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden, and other prominent Englishmen, including two eminent Employers and a distinguished Bishop.

BRITISH LABOUR SPEAKS

On sale at your Booksellers' or from the publishers, $2.00

BONI & LIVERIGHT
61 W. 48th Street, New York

B&L GOOD BOOKS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tired business man sit up and take notice. But there are two other American systems of thought to which Joad gives marked attention. These are new realism and critical realism, the very latest fashions in speculation, as yet hardly known except among the pundits. This modern realism is a reaction against the sappy idealism of Mid-Victorian times. The good, the beautiful, and the true as such are considered obsolete. Instead of a perfect universe, the realists consider the universe a gigantic box with a number of different contents, and the philosophy of the aggregates, as Joad puts it, will be a catalogue of items rather than a systematic doctrine deducible from one general principle. In other words, Hegel's Absolute, unfolding like a lotus blossom, is replaced by the cosmic department store, where new goods are offered as they are called for. All this is in line with books ranging from William James's "Pluralistic Universe" to H. G. Wells's "New Worlds for Old." Still, idealism has not entirely evaporated. There is the new idealism of the Italians, Croce and Gentile, which has gained several followers among us. These thinkers attack the old-style block universe and the static Absolute, and concentrate on the multiplicity of human experiences. Like d'Annunzio and his Fiume affair, daring humanity creates new realms, especially in the æsthetic field. As with the artist and the poet, the philosopher's æsthetic activity produces its data for itself. Art is lyrical, it is the giving expression to the intuitions of the soul. In short, for the neo-idealist only mind is real. But, as Joad points out, if the philosopher be the maker of reality and in speculating creates the object he studies, it follows that the universe as a whole must be one gigantic reproduction of this self-generating mental activity. This is manifestly absurd. It is the fable of the frog and the bull over again. Man and his little brain can never swell out to the vast proportions of the stellar spaces.

The Italian neo-idealism, then, is a kind of Mussolini metaphysics. The politician in one sense may recreate his country, but no philosophic dictator can create a cosmos by his individual effort. There is a call for an outside activity, an immensely greater force, and this Bergson supplies with his Creative Evolution. His doctrine, says Joad, still remains something of a stumbling-block to the man in the street. He might have added that it is unfortunate that the parlor philosophers, the pink-tea speculators, have given a certain vogue to the *élan vital*, the vital impetus. Bergson, as we take it, has supplied the motive power to

The Novel Religious Circles Are Discussing!

SIX EDITIONS SOLD!

The High Way

By CAROLINE ATWATER MASON

LYNN HAROLD HOUGH, writing from his "Lion's Den Column" in *The Christian Century*, says: ". . . Because things which tear men's hearts are seen in action in this book it will live. Mrs. Mason has put her finger upon many a vital spot . . . it is a passionate discussion sure to make us think." $2.00

LATEST ISSUES

Five Present-Day Controversies
By Charles E. Jefferson, D.D.
Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York
"Of extreme present-day interest. On all of these hotly controverted subjects Dr. Jefferson has much to say that is greatly needed because it is calm, well founded in history, fair to both sides, and firmly based on Christian faith."—*Christian Endeavor World.* $1.50

A Layman's Confession of Faith
By P. Whitwell Wilson
"The writer of this really valuable book made himself, and his faith known to the people by his three preceding books, 'The Christ We Forget,' 'The Church We Forget,' 'The Vision We Forget.'"—*Herald and Presbyter.* $1.50

The Mystery of Preaching
By James Black, D.D.
Minister of St. George's United Free Church, Edinburgh
"A valuable treatise on the use of preaching as a means for the spread of the Gospel and the salvation of souls. Dr. Black knows, in theory and from practice, what preaching should be."—*Herald and Presbyter.* $1.75

Radio Preaching
Edited by Philip I. Roberts
Far-Flung Sermons by Pioneers in Radio Preaching, and Some of the Results.
By Bernard C. Clausen, H. H. Forsyth, James Gordon Gilkey, James L. Gordon, Lynn Harold Hough, Burris A. Jenkins, Hugh T. Kerr, Frederick N. McMillin, Frederick F. Shannon, Herbert Booth Smith, Henry C. Swearingen, etc. $1.50

KNOW THE TRUTH!
THE REAL DANIEL WEBSTER
By Elijah R. Kennedy
Foreword by Judge Frederick E. Crane. Illustrated, $2.00

Jane in the Orient
By Lois Hawks Swinehart
"Everything in Japan and Korea intrigues Jane, vividly temperamental—save missionary work. But of course (else why the story) that does in the end."—*Boston Transcript.* $1.25

YOUNG FOLKS

The Testing of Jim MacLean
A TALE OF THE WILDS OF LABRADOR
By Dillon Wallace
Doctor Joe, Davy and Andy Angus, Indian Jake, and many favorite Wallace characters now furnish evidence of their courage and resourcefulness. Illustrated. $1.75

The Quest of the Hidden Ivory
A STORY OF ADVENTURE IN TROPICAL AFRICA
By Josephine Hope Westervelt
Adventures in a Ford car, driving into regions hitherto unreached by an automobile—an African jungle. Illustrated. $1.75

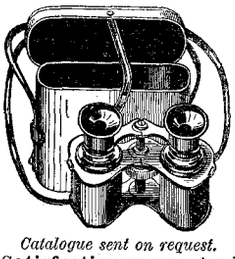
The Two of Us in Africa
ADVENTURES IN AFRICA OF TWO LITTLE GIRLS OF DIFFERENT COLORS
By Dicie M. Rittenhouse
Crowded with incident depicting life on the Dark Continent; manners, customs, and missionary life are graphically described. Illustrated. $1.50

ASK FOR THEM REVELL BOOKS AT ALL BOOKSELLERS

FOR SALE BY ALL BOOKSELLERS

FLEMING H. REVELL COMPANY
NEW YORK: 158 Fifth Ave. CHICAGO: 17 N. Wabash Ave.

BINOCULARS

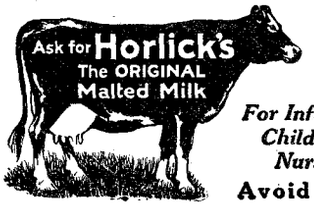


Brand new. Clear, white crystal 8 power lenses. French make. Central focusing and width adjustment. Large field of view. Ideal for Hunting, Camping, Fishing, Hikes, etc. Guaranteed perfect. Well made and serviceable, will last a lifetime. Black morocco-covered body. Strong case and shoulder straps included.

8 Power — Big Value

$8.75 C.O.D.

Catalogue sent on request.
Satisfaction guaranteed or money refunded.
BENNER & CO., D-3, Trenton, N. J.



Safe Milk
For Infants, Children, Invalids, Nursing Mothers
Avoid Imitations

ANIMAL LAND

By WILLARD ALLEN COLCORD

A New Gift-Book for Children. Thrilling, entertaining, and informative. Three hundred TRUE stories about Animals, Birds, and Insects, delightfully told. Sixteen original full-page illustrations; 21 feature pages. Bound in red cloth, stamped in colors, with jacket in colors.
12mo. 462 pages. $1.75 net

The Judson Press 1701-1703 Chestnut Street PHILADELPHIA, PA.

DECORATIVE SCHEMES
developed from blue prints for town or country houses, hotels, clubs.
Interior decorations of every description.
IDA LOUISE KILLAM
12 East 48th St. New York City
Vanderbilt 2427

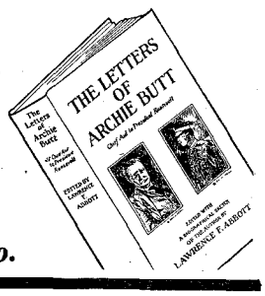
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Archie Butt

—twenty years ago he was famous as Roosevelt's Military Aid. Ten years ago he died heroically on the *Titanic*. Today the publication of his letters about Roosevelt again places him in the limelight. Lawrence F. Abbott calls Butt a modern Pepys and compares his book to Boswell's Johnson. It is the most important American biography since "The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page."

The Letters of Archie Butt

At Bookstores, $5



Doubleday, Page & Co.

Harry Emerson Fosdick

and His New Book

The Modern Use of the Bible

Price $1.60

1. A Christian should be as fair as the Law. The Law condemns no man unheard.

2. Moreover, the issue raised by the Fosdick case has now grown to be a great deal bigger than the man Fosdick.

3. We do not know whether you count yourself (1) friend or (2) foe, or, as is not unlikely, (3) you have just made up your mind that the matter has reached the stage of importance where you must take the time to find out what it is all about.

4. Nowhere will you find such a compendium of information in regard to the Fosdick side of the case, so readable and lucid an exposition of all the points at issue as in this work just published entitled "THE MODERN USE OF THE BIBLE."

5. No man who can read and understand the newspapers will be able to say as he turns the last page that he does not know what the book is talking about nor where Fosdick stands.

6. Fosdick's previous religious books could never have reached a sale of a million copies unless he had learned how to write on religion. His comments in this field are as straight to the point as are those of the chief editorial leader writer of a New York newspaper, like the Times or World, on the proceedings at Geneva of the Leage of Nations.

7. Knock off right now long enough to get an order ready for mailing.

From your bookshop or from

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Chicago Boston New York Atlanta Dallas San Francisco

the vast machine. Darwinian adaptation, as he declares, may explain the inner windings of the evolutionary progress, but not the general direction of the movement, still less the movement itself. So much for Joad's appreciation of Bergsonism. His delightful criticism of that system we leave to the reader of this little book, so noteworthy for the lucidity of its style, the grasp of its subject-matter, and the subtlety of its strictures.

The New Books

FICTION

BLIND RAFTERY. By Donn Byrne. The Century Company, New York. Cloth, $1.25; leather, $2.50.

A lovely thing with magic in it; a spell cast conjointly by the scene, the story, and the telling. Mr. Byrne has given us in Blind Raftery the poet, welcomed for his songs by high and low, wandering through Ireland with his beautiful young wife, the Spanish girl Hilaria, two such figures of glamourous romance as we seldom meet with nowadays. The book is so far historical that there was once, we believe, a real Raftery; whether there was also a real Hilaria we do not know—nor care. The pair justify themselves in a tale whose outstanding quality is its beauty; but it contains also one memorable scene of truly delicious comedy, in which an Irish pig-buyer, his imagination just comfortably stimulated by his potations, relates at an inn his version of an interview between Dean Swift and Queen Anne.

THE KING OF ELFLAND'S DAUGHTER. By Lord Dunsany. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.

Lord Dunsany, we are afraid, has for once overestimated the capacity of the Anglo-Saxon reading public to assimilate Irish fantasy. Gods and seers, witches, fairies, and princesses, he has introduced to us before, but within the compacter bounds of drama, not in a fairy tale three hundred pages in length. An excellent fairy tale it is, too, for those who can still enjoy a fairy tale direct without the medium necessary to most of us of a child to read it to. "The King of Elfland's Daughter" cannot be read to children; it is too grown up for them; and, despite its indubitable appealing poetic quality, it is likely to seem not quite grown up enough for most grown-ups.

THE NEEDLE'S EYE. By Arthur Train. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.

John Graham, the hero of Mr. Train's novel "The Needle's Eye," is not a constructive reformer; he is a young man of great possessions, moderate ability, honest good will, and admirable courage, enmeshed through inheritance in the problems and responsibilities of Big

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Business. He blunders badly in his handling of a difficult situation at the mines, where his hope to improve conditions and relations is quenched in violence and destruction. As a result he finds himself not only in opposition to the angered and mischievously advised miners he had wished to befriend, but to the other stockholders and directors of the company—men older, abler, more ruthless, and less scrupulous than himself. Losing their confidence, he is soon "frozen out" of control; but he is modest in spirit and unbeatable in soul. He remains without bitterness upon the board with the men who have deposed him from power, sturdily resolved to make himself as useful as he can in a fighting minority. It is this attitude that makes his career worth while and his failure spiritually a success.

"The present system is cruel, but life is cruel," he says at the end to Rhoda. "All we can do is to try and make it less so. It is as hard to escape from riches as it is from poverty—harder."

A counsel, not of surrender, yet of fundamental acceptance and resignation; wise doubtless for John and for most well-meaning individuals afflicted with millions. To be sure, it shows no gleam of gallant challenge, casts no forward-flashing searchlight toward a hopefully different future. It is, in fact, a natural, kindly, creditable, commonplace, and slightly stodgy pronouncement; but it is as far as John would venture intellectually, and Mr. Train is quite right to let it go at that.

It is not for theories, suggestions, or solutions of the complex relations of labor and capital that the reader need look in "The Needle's Eye;" he will not find them. But he will find a fair and faithful presentation of one section of the great American industrial field, and moving within it a group of diverse and strongly differentiated people whose reaction to their environment and opportunities and to one another provides sustained and growing interest from the first to the last chapter.

BIOGRAPHY

UNCENSORED RECOLLECTIONS. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $4.50.

This anonymous book is full of anecdotes of Edward VII, of Napoleon III, Lord Beaconsfield, and other English and European notables of forty, fifty, and sixty years ago. It is one of those chatty, intimate books in which the Prince, or some other personage whose mere name causes the hearts of some readers to palpitate, is forever laying his hand upon the author's shoulder and saying, "My dear boy, you must really get us all out of this difficulty. We rely

85th Thousand

The Book of the Year

At Home and Abroad

The Little French Girl

By ANNE DOUGLAS SEDGWICK

ENGLAND

"A subtle, distinguished and profoundly moving piece of fiction, a novel full of character, and of a penetrating sincerity."
—*Daily Telegraph*

AMERICA

"Certainly one of the best of recent novels; even more certainly, it is one of the most enjoyable."
—*The Outlook*

CANADA

"Its charm is vital and steadfast; its merits are rich and enduring; its beauty is appealing; its truth lends it a quiet dignity few modern novels possess."—*Montreal Daily Star*

$2.00 at bookstores

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN CO.

TEACHERS' AGENCIES

The Pratt Teachers Agency
70 Fifth Avenue, New York
Recommends teachers to colleges, public and private schools. Advises parents about schools. Wm. O. Pratt, Mgr.

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

Music Lessons At Home **WITH CELEBRATED TEACHERS**
Lessons specially prepared for home study. Endorsed by Paderewski. Not a new method. Long established school now celebrating its 20th Anniversary.
Any Instrument Write naming course you are interested in: Piano, Harmony, Voice, Public School Music, Violin, Cornet, Mandolin, Guitar, Banjo or Reed Organ—and we will send FREE CATALOG. **SEND for it NOW!**
UNIVERSITY EXTENSION CONSERVATORY
3 Siegel-Myers Bldg. Chicago, Illinois

McAllister School Weston, Massachusetts
A School for Young Boys. Prepares for Andover, Exeter, Groton, Loomis, Middlesex, Milton, Pomfret, and all secondary schools. Emphasizes training in self-reliance, application and self-control. Residence under home conditions with attention to moral and physical well-being.

MISS CONKLIN'S
SECRETARIAL SCHOOL
Illustrated booklet on request
STUDIOS OF THE TILDEN BUILDING
105 West 40th Street New York

Alviene University **OPERA** DRAMA MUSIC COLLEGE of DANCE ARTS
DIRECTORS *Alan Dale, Wm. A. Brady, Henry Miller, Sir John Martin-Harvey, J. J. Shubert, Marguerite Clark, Rose Coghlan*
SINGING and PHOTO-PLAY For Acting, Teaching, Directing. Developing poise and personality essential for any calling in life. Alviene Art Theatre and Stock Co. (appearances while learning), N. Y. debuts and careers stressed. For Prospectus write study desired to Secretary, 43 West 72nd St., N.Y., EXT. 67.

THE ROUTH PINES SCHOOL
Samarkand, N. C.
(Near Pinehurst and Southern Pines)
School home for children 6-14. Healthful climate. Special attention to individual academic and physical needs. Young, companionable instructors. Recitations limited to our pupils. Ungraded.

The humane irony of the great master, whom the whole world mourns, is at its best in

THAIS
Introduction by Hendrik Willem Van Loon

THE CRIME OF SYLVESTRE BONNARD
Introduction by Lafcadio Hearn

THE QUEEN PEDAUQUE
Introduction by James Branch Cabell

THE RED LILY

All in the Modern Library at only 95 cents each

Hand Bound in limp style, gold stamping, stained top. Mail in the coupon for the complete, illustrated MODERN LIBRARY catalog, containing descriptions of these four volumes.

BONI & LIVERIGHT
61 W. 48th St., New York
Please mail me the complete, illustrated Modern Library catalog giving thumbnail biographical sketches and succinct and informative descriptions of the books.
Name .....
.....
Address .....
.....

GOOD BOOKS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEST BOOKS

GONE NATIVE

A NOVEL BY ASTERISK

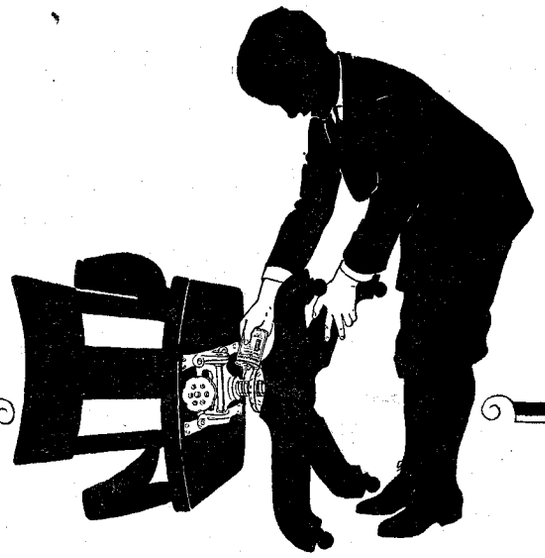
AUTHOR OF "ISLES OF ILLUSION"

A Man's Soul Stripped of the Veneer of Civilization

STARTLING! VIVID! AMAZING!

$ 2.00 NET

SMALL, MAYNARD AND COMPANY - BOSTON



Keep Your Office Boy Supplied with 3-in-One

Then he can keep those annoying squeaks out of your office chair, oil the hinges of your office door and put a drop or two of 3-in-One in the time-clock when needed.

3-in-One is excellent typewriter oil, too. Has just the right consistency to penetrate delicate bearings quickly, oil perfectly and stay put. Try, also, on duplicating and computing machines, dictaphones, dating stamps.

Everything in your office that ever needs oil, needs

3-in-One *The High Quality Office Oil*

As a furniture polish 3-in-One is supreme. Used properly, it removes dirt and grime, produces a bright, dry polish and preserves the finish.

Teach your office boy to polish furniture this way: Wring out a cloth in cold water. Apply a few drops of 3-in-One to the cloth. Rub a small surface of the furniture at a time, *with the grain of the wood*. Polish with a soft dry cloth.

Have Johnny get a bottle or Handy Can of 3-in-One on his next errand.

At all good stores in 1-oz., 3-oz. and 8-oz. bottles and 3-oz. Handy Oil Cans. The 8-oz. bottle is most economical. Contains most for the money.

FREE—Generous sample and Dictionary of Uses. Request both on a postal.

THREE-IN-ONE OIL COMPANY, 130 LE. WILLIAM ST., NEW YORK, N. Y.

Factories: Rahway, N. J., and Montreal

REGISTERED 3 TRADE-MARK

HR797

on you absolutely!" Such a book may have been written by an important personage who really knew all these world-shaking men and women. Or it may have been written by a moderately clever journalist who had faithfully studied Court Calendars, the Paris edition of the New York "Herald," and the writings of the "Marquise de Fontenoy." The reader of it will be able to form his opinion, as we have formed ours. As the book is anonymous, nothing can be proved one way or the other.

Notes on New Books

ECONOMY IN HOME BUILDING. With a Consideration of the Part Played by the Architect. By Oswald C. Hering. Robert M. McBride & Co., New York. $5.

Tells the prospective home builder or remodeler how to save money and conserve beauty. Many pictures and valuable hints.

POLYCHROMY. Architectural and Structural Theory and Practice. By Leon V. Solon. With Introduction by Ralph Adams Cram.

Inspiration here for the progressive architect and sculptor, in an exposition, illustrated in color, of the past glories of Greek polychromy.

THE BEAUTY OF THE PURPLE. By William Stearns Davis. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50.

Constantinople in the eighth century, when the then Christian city was attacked by Moslems. The discovery of Greek fire and the destruction of the besiegers' vessels are high points in this fast-moving, dramatic tale by an author whose other historical novels have met with high praise.

GOIN' ON FOURTEEN. By Irvin S. Cobb. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $2.50.

This Custer boy and his fellow-conspirators in mischief and trouble really do come nearer to the unconscious humor and irrepressible activity of Tom Sawyer than any fictitious boys we know. One reads and chuckles and reads some more. If Mr. Cobb ever did anything better, we don't know what it is.

MARIPOSA. By Henry Baerlein. Boni & Liveright, New York. $2.

A Spanish girl dancer, ignorant and childlike, and her uncouth and coarse-mouthed mother are brought to London as a theatrical speculation. What happens there makes up the story.

SAINT MARTIN'S SUMMER. By Rafael Sabatini. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $2.

An early story by the greatest of recent tellers of adventure and romance. Its hero, Garnache, is a dashing gallant and fighter. The story is slenderly constructed, but it does not lack thrill.

BARE SOULS. By Gamaliel Bradford. Harper & Brothers, New York. $3.50.

Mr. Bradford's titles suggest the modern desire to be daring and "stark," but his essays are dignified and readable. In this book he discusses Voltaire, Cowper, Lamb, Keats, Flaubert, *et al.* (No disrespect to Governor Smith.)

THE LIFE OF THE BAT. By Charles Derennes. Translated from the French by Louise Collier Willcox. Harper & Brothers, New York.

The amiable side of a much-slandered and useful animal. Useful? Certainly; he eats mosquitoes.

JOSHUA BARNEY. By Ralph D. Paine. The Century Company, New York. $4.

An almost forgotten hero of our Navy.

SIGMUND FREUD. By Fritz Wittels. Translated from the German by Eden and Cedar Paul. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $3.50.

The life and works of an earnest scientist, who has unintentionally intoxicated the half-baked and innocently helped to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The old fashioned, reliable

Baker's Chocolate

(PREMIUM NO. 1)

By all means the most satisfactory chocolate for cooking and drinking.

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

Walter Baker & Co. Ltd.

ESTABLISHED 1780

Dorchester, Mass. Montreal, Can.

BOOKLET OF CHOICE RECIPES SENT FREE

A Business Opportunity

exists for the man who wishes to be his own boss and the owner of a permanent, ever-expanding, profitable merchandising service. It may start with $100 capital, or $10,000, but it cannot start without capital. The degree of success has no reasonable limit. It has attracted to it and has today engaged in it, men who are conspicuous successes and of long and wide experience in merchandising, with capital abundant for all their requirements; and the other extreme of men and women with limited business experience and qualifications, and very small capital.

No man is too big for the business.

Men of strong professional standing with splendid incomes have given up these incomes and their professional work to engage in this service, with success.

The business is merchandising, but it entails a service that is unique, intensely interesting—productive of great enthusiasm, and broadly constructive. It makes you the greatest benefactor in your community, town, city, or district, and pays you a real profit for such benefaction.

Service is the foundation of all real success, and this service literally enables you to take time from eternity and put it into the life of man, and make legitimate profits in doing so.

Address Manufacturer, care Motive Publishing House, 1929 Sunnyside Ave., Chicago, Ill.

(The above is not merchandising books or magazines)

make silly a considerable fraction of current literature.

MEMOIRS OF AN EDITOR. By Edward P. Mitchell. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $4.50.

First mention in these pages of what is perhaps the most interesting American autobiography of this season. Mr. Mitchell was formerly chief editor of the "Sun."

POLITICAL PARTIES AND PARTY PROBLEMS IN THE UNITED STATES. By James Albert Woodburn. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Third revised and enlarged edition.

OUR PRESIDENTS. By James Morgan. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50.

Brief and interesting biographical sketches of the Presidents from Washington to Coolidge.

AMERICAN STATE GOVERNMENT. By John Mabry Mathews. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $3.75.

A study of the varied State governments within the Union.

THE POLITICAL PARTIES OF TO-DAY. By Arthur N. Holcombe. Harper & Brothers, New York. $3.

By the Professor of Government in Harvard University.

MORE QUEER THINGS ABOUT LONDON. By Charles G. Harper. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $2.50.

The city gates, old churches, old door-knockers, fire-marks, statues, and other oddities. A pleasant guide-book for leisurely wanderers in London.

A STUDY OF BROWNING'S "THE RING AND THE BOOK." By James Cassidy (E. M. Story). Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $2.

A careful study and description of Browning's long narrative poem.

MARIE ANTOINETTE. By Hilaire Belloc. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

A new American edition of a book first published in 1909. A wonderfully interesting presentation, at length and with detail, of the Queen as the central and tragic figure in European politics.

The Mail Bag

The Supreme Court and Senator La Follette

SENATOR LA FOLLETTE proposes to submit any law passed by Congress and signed by the President, but declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, to a second vote by Congress, and, if it is passed again, that it shall become the supreme law of the land in spite of the adverse decision of the Supreme Court.

This is clearly a direct threat to the entire fabric of our Government and imperils the safety, in person and in property, of every citizen.

Note first: The Supreme Court consists of nine Justices, carefully selected from the Bar of the whole Nation and approved by the Senate. They hear arguments both for and against the constitutionality of the law in question by eminent lawyers. Then, no doubt, they discuss exhaustively the question among themselves, and finally reach a decision on purely legal grounds. They are not apt to be swayed by the popularity or

Change to Oil

—this burner fits your furnace

There's a Kleen-Heet Unit Suited To Every Heating Plant, Low-Priced and Easy To Install

SEND for the new Kleen-Heet book, written by engineering experts. It tells you how easy it is, and how little it costs, to change from inconvenient, dirty, high-priced, coal to convenient, clean, economical oil.

It explains how a Kleen-Heet unit can be installed in your present heating plant at surprisingly small cost. If expense is keeping you from changing to oil, be sure to read this book. There is a type of Kleen-Heet for the smallest bungalow to the tallest skyscraper.

What Oil Heat Means

It means a house well-heated—every room, all the time.

Day or night, the temperature never varies. Zero weather, a raging blizzard, can't affect your comfort. This luxurious heat is automatic—you can forget your heating plant after Kleen-Heet comes. A thermostat set at any temperature you like, tends your furnace for you. It automatically regulates the Kleen-Heet burner. It supplies, from October till May, this steady, even healthful heat without attention or bother.

Write For Free Book

Kleen-Heet is the proved efficient oil burner for types of home. You surely want to know about it at least. So write for the Kleen-Heet book and learn what heating specialists have to tell you. Yes, absolutely free.

Kleen-Heet

Automatic Oil Burning Systems

Winslow Boiler & Engineering Co.

Manufacturers

208 S. La Salle Street Chicago, Ill.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unpopularity of their vote, for they are appointed for life and not subject to reappointment. Each bears one-ninth of the responsibility for their decision.

Note second: There are 96 Senators and 435 Representatives. Among these 531 persons there is a certain proportion of lawyers. Nearly all of the rest know little or nothing of constitutional law. In deciding which way to vote many of them at least cannot possibly avoid being swayed by political or party or personal considerations. Each Representative must seek re-election not more than two years, and each Senator not more than six years, after the vote. Each Senator feels only 1/96th part, and each Representative only 1/435th part of the responsibility for the decision, instead of 1/9th. The sense of personal moral responsibility rapidly lessens as numbers increase, and to decide solely on legal grounds becomes by so much less possible.

Note third: Let me suppose a case along surgical lines. Suppose that I have met with a most dangerous accident—a compound fracture of the leg, in which the bone tears the muscles and protrudes through the skin. I summon nine of the very best surgeons in the country to decide whether my leg shall or shall not be amputated. After a minute and careful examination of the wound, of my general health, the condition of my heart, lungs, kidneys, arteries, blood pressure, and every other necessary factor, they decide, let us say, even 5 to 4 (and of such decisions by the Supreme Court in which a law enacted by Congress has been declared unconstitutional in the 135 years since the Constitution was adopted in 1789, there have been only eight!), that the chances of my recovery would be greater if an amputation were done—or, if you choose, were not done. Do you suppose that I would be willing in either case to have that decision revised, and possibly reversed, by any body of 531 persons with the same proportion of doctors as there are of lawyers in the two houses of Congress? No! Not on your life! W. W. KEEN.

I Learned From Big Investors

How to Become Independent in Only a Few Years on a Small Salary

"For years I thought it 'money-luck' by which big investors built fortunes," a successful investor wrote recently. "Then I was promoted to a position that brought me into contact with the confidential affairs of my employers. I was amazed to discover the secret of their investing—the legitimate methods they had used to build up fortunes in a surprisingly short time with safety!"

These remarkable methods are fully described in an important book called "Ali Baba's Cave Rediscovered." It outlines for you the most successful plan ever developed for the scientific accumulation of money. It tells you how to accumulate $10,000, $25,000, or even $50,000 in a certain length of time. It shows you how you can create a good sized estate through investing in Forman First Mortgage Real Estate Bonds—all without risk or speculation of any sort. Mail the request blank for your copy. *It may change the whole course of your life.*

GEORGE M. FORMAN & COMPANY

105 W. Monroe St., Dept. 610, Chicago
Pershing Sq. Bldg., New York

39 Years Without Loss to a Customer

MAILED FREE

First Mortgage Real Estate Bonds

George M. Forman & Company
105 W. Monroe St., Dept. 610,
Chicago, Ill.
Please mail me, without cost or obligation, a copy of your Free book, "Ali Baba's Cave Rediscovered."

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State.....

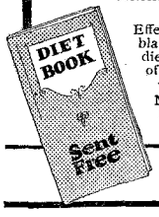
Eat and Be Well!

A condensed set of health rules—many of which may be easily followed right in your own home, or while traveling. You will find in this little book a wealth of information about food elements and their relation to physical welfare.

CONTROL YOUR WEIGHT WITHOUT DRUGS OR TIRESOME EXERCISES

Effective weight control diets, acid and bland diets, laxative and blood-building diets, and diets used in the correction of various chronic maladies.

The book is for FREE circulation, Not a mail-order advertisement. Name and address on card will bring it without cost or obligation.



HEALTH EXTENSION BUREAU
294 Good Health Building, Battle Creek, Mich.

CHALFONTE-HADDON HALL

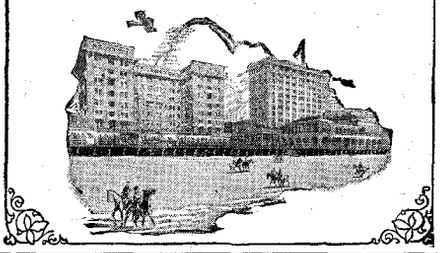
ATLANTIC CITY

On the Beach and the Boardwalk. In the very center of things. Hospitable, homelike.

Every season of the year is enjoyable at Chalfonte-Haddon Hall. Winter recreations outdoors include Golf, Riding on the Beach, Aviation, Boardwalk Activities. Mild weather. Invigorating sea air.

American Plan Only. Always Open. Illustrated folder and rates on request.

LEEDS and LIPPINCOTT COMPANY



CONDADO Vanderbilt

San Juan
PORTO RICO

THE finest resort hotel in the West Indies.

Bathing and water sports; golf; tennis; motoring.

Inexpensive accommodations for season or stopover. American plan.

COAMO SPRINGS, HOTEL and BATHS, famous for their curative and medicinal waters, under same management.

For Illustrated Literature and Reservations, address

Walton H. Marshall, Manager
The Vanderbilt Hotel
New York

FOR MEN OF BRAINS

Cortez CIGARS

MADE AT KEY WEST

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING SECTION

INCLUDING

HOTELS — TRAVEL

Real Estate, Summer and Winter Resorts
Tours and Travel, Sanitariums, Etc.
All Want advertisements 10c per word

60c a line; column width 1¾ in.; single column only

Tours and Travel

Play
where winter never comes
Phoenix
ARIZONA

COME this year to Phoenix—leave the chilly East and come to the winter playground of America—average November temperature is 59°.

Golf every day—tennis—exciting hours with rod and gun, all in the pure air of sun-warmed Arizona.

Explore, on horseback or by auto over smooth highways, the giant cactus and other desert wonders—picnic 'mid the rugged grandeur of mountain, canyon and roaring torrent. Visit Roosevelt Dam, prehistoric Apache Picture Rocks, Indian Cliff Dwellings, all adjacent to flower-decked, fruit-laden Phoenix.

Include Phoenix in your Pacific trip. Write for the booklet, "*Phoenix, Where Winter Never Comes*"—the complete story in picture form.

STOPOVERS on Santa Fe and Southern Pacific—Winter tourists rates, effective now. Sign coupon TODAY. *Your copy will be in the return mail.*

B
Phoenix-Arizona Club
101 Chamber of Commerce Bldg.
PHOENIX, ARIZONA.

Please send my copy of "*Phoenix, Where Winter Never Comes,*" by return mai

*Name*_____

*Street*_____

*City*_____

Earn Your European Tour All or part by assisting in organizing party. (Summer 1925, eight countries, $745.) Bulletin H explains. **Mentor Tours, 310 S. Michigan Blvd., Chicago**

MEDITERRANEAN TOURS

Small Parties

Sailing in January for Egypt and Palestine. Stops en route at Madeira, Gibraltar, Algiers and Monaco.

Leaders: Dr. H. H. Powers and Dr. George H. Allen

BUREAU OF UNIVERSITY TRAVEL
15 Boyd St. Newton, Mass.

THE beauty, fascination, and mystery of the Orient lures visitors from all over the world to

JAPAN

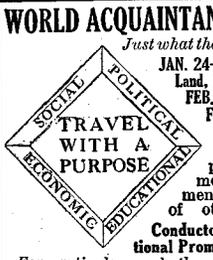
The quaintest and most interesting of all countries. Come while the old age customs prevail. Write, mentioning "Outlook" to

JAPAN HOTEL ASSOCIATION
Care Traffic Dept.
JAPANESE GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS
TOKYO
for full information

Rates for a single room without bath and with 3 meals, $5–6 in cities and popular resorts, $4–5 in the country

WORLD ACQUAINTANCE TOURS

Just what the name implies



JAN. 24—Near East, Holy Land, Mediterranean.
FEB. 14—Orient.
FEB. 26 — South America.

Unusual opportunities to meet leading men and women of other nations.

Conductors of International Prominence.

For particulars and other tours address
416 West 122d St., New York City

EGYPT—PALESTINE

A small private party
Leader Prof. H. L. WILLETT
of the University of Chicago
Send for itinerary
H. W. Dunning, Brookline, Mass.

Ministers, Professors, Teachers

If you wish to earn a first-class trip to South America at $1,200, or a trip to Europe at $850, write for full particulars. All parties will now be limited to six paying members.

BABCOCK'S TOURS, Inc.
Established 1900
136 Prospect St., East Orange, N.J.

TOURS and CRUISES

Are you planning for a tour to Europe next summer or interested in a winter cruise? Would you appreciate the advice of experienced traveler, representing impartially all companies? *Write*

Dr. H. W. DUNNING, Brookline, Mass.

WORTHWHILE TOURS

Fifteenth Season—1925
(A) EUROPE via the MEDITERRANEAN, $919.00
(B) TOUR of the WORLD, 174 days, $3,100 to $3,450
Outside rooms with bath.
Number limited, ¼ of the space already taken.
Write NOW to
WORTHWHILE TOURS, Boston 30, Mass.

Health Resorts

Sanford Hall, est. 1841
Private Hospital
For Mental and Nervous Diseases

Comfortable, homelike surroundings; modern methods of treatment; competent nurses. 15 acres of lawn, park, flower and vegetable gardens. Food the best. *Write for booklet.*

Sanford Hall, Flushing, New York

VAN VALEN SANATORIUM
YONKERS, N. Y.
Psycho-Therapeutic Treatment. Booklet.

MADISON SANITARIUM, MADISON, N. J. For the medical care and treatment of the nervous, semi-invalid, aged, and convalescent. Home atmosphere. Rates moderate. Booklet.

Hotels and Resorts

New York City

Hotel Hargrave

106-112 West 72d St., running through to 71st St., New York

300 rooms, each with bath. Absolutely fireproof. One block to 72d St. entrance of Central Park. Comfort and refinement combined with moderate rates. Single rooms, per day, $3 to $4. Double rooms, $3.50 to $4.50. Suite, $5 to $7. Parlor, two double bedrooms, bath, $8 to $10. Send for illustrated booklet J. J. E. GRAPE, Prop.

Hotel Judson **53 Washington Sq., New York City**
Residential hotel of highest type, combining the facilities of hotel life with the comforts of an ideal home. American plan $4 per day and up. European plan $1.50 per day and up.
SAMUEL NAYLOR, Manager.

Ohio

In Cleveland—it's The
HOLLENDEN *Hotel*
Most Convenient Location
Highest Class Service
Not Expensive

Real Estate

New York

SELF-SUPPORTING COUNTRY ESTATE

350 acres, 75 miles New York, 10,000 apple and peach trees, standard varieties. Going and profitable concern. 1924 gross receipts over $25,000. Comfortable residence, complete plant and equipment. Price $100,000. Terms to suit. Photos. **BARTON CHAPIN, 331 Madison Ave., New York City.**

For Sale, 190-acre farm, fruit trees, tenant house, barns, sheds, farming machinery. Immediate possession. For particulars address SAMUEL HOTALING, Mgr., Mellenville, N. Y.

Live Stock

The World's Largest Dog Kennels

offer for sale Oorang Airdale watch dogs, automobile dogs, children's companions, farm dogs, stock drivers, hunters and retrievers. Also Big Game Hounds, Coonhounds, Foxhounds, Rabbit Hounds, and thoroughbred Hound and Airedale puppies. Satisfaction and safe delivery guaranteed to any point in the United States. Large illustrated descriptive catalog mailed free.
OORANG KENNELS, Box 146, LA RUE, OHIO

BOARD AND ROOMS

LAKEWOOD, N. J. Christian family will take a few boarders. Home cooking. Terms reasonable. 5,536, Outlook.

FURNISHED room, beautiful, quiet section near bay, Miami, Fla. Breakfasts served. 5,551, Outlook.

BOOKS, MAGAZINES MANUSCRIPTS

ROCK BOTTOM prices now on "Century," "St. Nicholas," "American Golfer;" single subscriptions, any two, or all three. Investigate now, save money; information postpaid. Address Box 265, Oak Park, Ill. Mention Outlook.

RETAIN your French! Delightful, inexpensive method; interests French persons, teachers and students of French. Request information, postpaid, now. Box 265, Oak Park, Ill. Mention Outlook.

"MASTER Key," 410 pages, $2.50. Catalogues (all subjects) 10c. Books wanted. Phipps, 1014 Belmont, Chicago.

MANUSCRIPTS to type by specialist. Neat, accurate work. Write for reasonable rates. Carbon copy. Beryl M. Johnson, Hollis Center, Me.

ROOMS TO RENT

LADY owning comfortable bungalow in St. Petersburg, Fla., desires lady to share same for winter. Reasonable. E. K., 1775 Seminole Heights, St. Petersburg, Fla.

EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

CO-OPERATIVE PLACEMENT SERVICE. Institutional executives, secretaries, social workers. Housekeepers, dietitians, cafeteria managers. Governesses, companions, mothers' helpers. The Richards Bureau, 68 Barnes St., Providence.

HELP WANTED

Business Situations

HOTELS NEED TRAINED MEN AND WOMEN. Nation-wide demand for high-salaried men and women. Past experience unnecessary. We train you by mail and put you in touch with big opportunities. Big pay, fine living, interesting work, quick advancement, permanent. Write for free book, "YOUR BIG OPPORTUNITY." Lewis Hotel Training Schools, Suite C 5842, Washington, D. C.

WOMAN—Publishing house has permanent sales position to offer woman of keen intelligence, capable of earning $100 per week; previous business experience not necessary; education, refinement and determination to put through whatever you undertake essential for success; traveling required; all transportation paid; liberal drawing account and commission basis. Write, stating age and qualifications to B. E. Sparrow, 50 West 47th St., New York City.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HELP WANTED

Companions and Domestic Helpers

WANTED — Refined Protestant woman, competent to instruct, good cook, to take full charge kitchen department. References. Davenport Home, Bath, N. Y.

COMPANION-housekeeper. Elderly woman and two professional women. New York City. Interview required. 5,541, Outlook.

MOTHER of two children of school age, with pleasant home in country town forty miles from New York, wants young woman to spend few weeks or months with her, giving companionship and assistance with light household duties in exchange for board and small remuneration. 5,545, Outlook.

Teachers and Governesses

WANTED—Protestant governess between twenty-five and thirty-five. Thoroughly competent teach piano, pleasing personality, bright and cheerful, fond of children, understand physical development, perfect health. Best references. "Penilyn," Whippany Road, Morristown, N. J.

SITUATIONS WANTED

Professional Situations

GRADUATE nurse, position as companion to patient going to California for the winter, or would consider a permanent, chronic, or invalid case. 5,507, Outlook.

RESPONSIBLE position desired by competent woman, experienced in institutional work for boys. Matron, supervisor, sewing room, or any position of trust. 5,552, Outlook.

GRADUATE nurse would like the complete care of a child. References given to interested parties. 5,506, Outlook.

DIETITIAN, experienced. Excellent references. Graduate Home Economics School. 5,554, Outlook.

TWO ladies desire positions of trust and responsibility in home for adults or children. 5,542, Outlook.

Business Situations

CAPABLE woman wishes position as manager and caterer. Fifteen years' experience in hotel and school. Best references. 5,524, Outlook.

SECRETARY, experienced, all day or part time, New York. Capable of taking responsibility. 5,553, Outlook.

WOMAN of refinement desires to act as hostess in club, hotel, or private home in New York or Detroit. Competent to be social adviser and direct staff of servants. Exceptional references. 5,557, Outlook.

Companions and Domestic Helpers

POSITION of responsibility—companion, chaperon, or care of motherless children. 5,498, Outlook.

COLLEGE graduate wishes to spend the winter as traveling companion. 5,540, Outlook.

CULTURED young woman who is alone as companion, preferably with a lady who is alone. WILL travel. REFERENCES exchanged. 5,533, Outlook.

SITUATIONS WANTED

COMPANION-secretary. Young woman, excellent business training. Willing to travel. References exchanged. Address F. A., 675 Forest Ave., West New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y.

AMERICAN woman as housekeeper. Understands thoroughly all duties in a home. Good caterer and manager of servants. Long references. 5,555, Outlook.

WOMAN of culture, experience, adaptability, wishes position as companion-secretary to lady. References exchanged. 5,556, Outlook.

COMPANION. Cultured young college woman desires position with lady. Willing to travel. References exchanged. 5,558, Outlook.

GENTLEWOMAN desires position as traveling companion to lady going South or to California. References. 187 Hamilton Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y.

Teachers and Governesses

TUTOR wishes position; college preparation. 5,512, Outlook.

GREETING CARDS

UNIQUE ten cent Christmas cards. Anna Wildman, The Clinton, Philadelphia.

STATIONERY

WRITE for free samples of embossed at $2 or printed stationery at $1.50 per box. Thousands of Outlook customers. Lewis, stationer, Troy, N. Y.

PERSONAL STATIONERY—200 single or 100 double sheets, 100 envelopes, printed in dark blue on good bond paper, $1. Frank B. Hicks, Macedon Center, N. Y.

PERSONAL PRINTED STATIONERY. 200 noteheads, 100 envelopes, good white vellum bond paper, three or four line printing in neat Gothic type, blue ink. Quick service. Price $1, cash with order. Excellent Xmas gift. HANSON PRESS INC., 561 Harrison Ave., Springfield, Mass.

MISCELLANEOUS

TO young women desiring training in the care of obstetrical patients a six months' nurses' aid course is offered by the Lying-In Hospital, 307 Second Ave., New York. Aids are provided with maintenance and given a monthly allowance of $10. For further particulars address Directress of Nurses.

IDEAL New England home for little girl. $15 weekly. References exchanged. 5,522, Outlook.

SHOPPING by New York expert who will send things, services free. References. Hattie Guthman, 309 West 99th St.

WANTED—Elderly lady, spending winter alone on Columbia Heights in Brooklyn, desires lady to call two or three evenings each week to gossip about news of the day. 5,559, Outlook.

LADY, traveled, experienced tutor, hospital training, receives children in mid-Southern home. Includes instruction grade subjects, French, music, outdoor games. Competent, tactful assistants. Write 5,546, Outlook.

Responsibility and Real Estate

THE real estate advertisements that you see in The Outlook's Classified Department represent genuine opportunities to responsible people—that is why you will find it decidedly worth your while to follow them week by week. It will be especially worth while for you to examine the issue of November 19, which will be a special Real Estate Number and will contain many valuable property offerings.

Incidentally, if you yourself have property to sell or rent you could choose no better medium than The Outlook and no better issue than that of November 19. The Outlook enjoys a rare influence with its readers, which makes for splendid response.

We shall be glad to give you rates and information on request.

Classified Advertising Department

THE OUTLOOK COMPANY

381 Fourth Avenue, New York

By the Way

THE rhapsodies of a connoisseur about his favorite wines make amusing reading for prohibitionists who are beyond all that sort of thing. Describing a banquet given by a learned wine-lover to "a small company worthy of it," Mr. H. Warner Allen, in "The Wines of France," says: "The harmony of the '58 Lafite, as gentle as the faded tinkle of Galuppi's clavichord, called up a world of pleasant melancholy, peopled with graceful shadows of the past, creating a perfect atmosphere for the wine that was to follow. For the '64 Lafite also belonged to an ideal world; but with it the company left the shadow for the substance, the reflection for the reality, perceiving the highest artistry of Médoc no longer through a glass darkly, but face to face. All that the '58 had hinted at and subtly suggested the '64 most delicately expressed."

"Even if we cannot live up to this sort of thing," says "Country Life" (London) in sarcastically commenting on the above extract which it quotes, "we may yet perceive the author's artistry through a glass darkly."

From the "American Legion Weekly:"

Bobby—"Would it make any difference to you, mother, whether I was elected President on the Democratic or Republican ticket when I grow up?"

Some Scotchmen like to tell stories about the "canniness" of their own race. Here is a recent example:

A man threw a shilling to a street entertainer, and when his wife remonstrated, said it was a bad shilling. "Why did you not throw him a bad sixpence?" replied the wife.

The oldest seagoing vessels of the world are the junks of the Yellow Sea of China, according to a writer in the "Yachting Monthly" (London). These junks are "highly decorated vessels with tall poops and rounded sides, reminiscent of the days of Drake and Columbus. Junks of this type are in existence still which were built in the time of Kien Lung, say some hundred and fifty years ago."

Referring to the sailing peculiarities of the junk, the writer above quoted says: "A junk will not heave to, and John Chinaman is fully aware of this. He doesn't even try; his plan is far simpler. He lets his halyards go with a run, and the sail is off his vessel in a moment. The high poop acts as a riding mizzen and brings him head to wind; the low bow prevents him from falling off the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wind. If the blow is likely to last any time, he lays out a sea-anchor. His next procedure is to burn a joss-stick and probably a few pieces of paper to his household god. After that, as there is nothing more to do except eat or sleep—he does so."

From the London "Humorist:"

"Did you have a nice time at the dance?"

"Wonderful. George was so jealous that his whole evening was spoiled."

A machine that has maintained its competitive power for fifty years is rare. This is said to be the case with the Swedish "universal" match-making machine, which was first put into operation in 1872 and is still in daily use. It was the invention of Alex. Lagerman, of Jonkoping, who by means of this and other inventions has enabled Sweden to maintain its standing as the greatest safety-match producer of the world. It is the proud claim of a Swedish match company that it makes a match a day for every individual on earth.

A message from a woman on her 114th birthday to other women is probably unique. It was given by Mrs. Peshe Malke Urdang from her room at the Harlem Home of the Daughters of Israel, New York City, in the midst of a mass of flowers and near a cake with 114 candles on it. "Happiness," says Mrs. Urdang, "is not easy to find, but for true contentment I advise young women to marry wisely and for love alone, and not for worldly wealth. I chose a poor man myself when I was a young girl, when I might have married a wealthy man, and I have never regretted it."

From the "Pelican:"

Johnnie—"Mother, I just seen—"

Mother (reprovingly) — "Johnnie! Where's your grammar?"

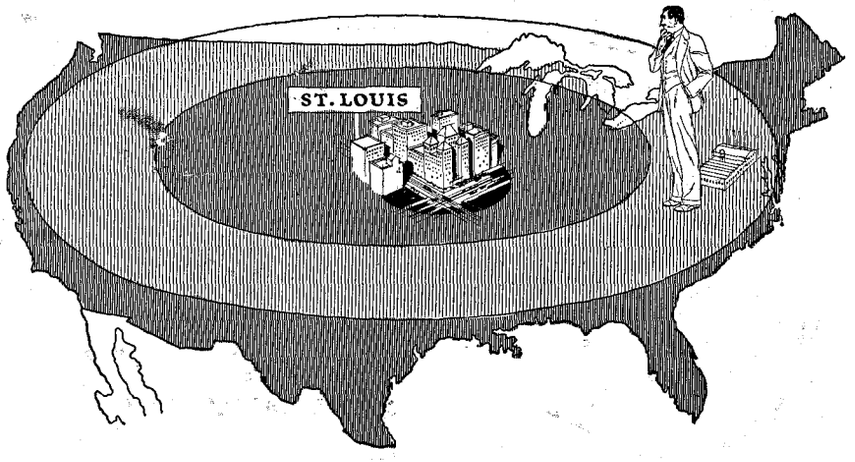
Johnnie—"I was just trying to tell you. She's down at the barber shop getting her hair bobbed."

A Southwestern subscriber sends in the following advertisement from his local paper with the request that we notice "how, when, and where we make guns in the West."

LOST—Double-barrel shot gun, 16-gauge Fulton, made by Hunter Arms Co., Sunday morning on rough road, between Montana and County road. Good reward. 3807 Clifton.

Answer to riddles in last week's Outlook: Conundrum; Manhattan.

Are You The Man on the Rim?



IF YOUR factory is on the rim of your market instead of at the center you cannot take advantage of your greatest possibilities. You are not getting your full profit. Suppose you could pick up your entire plant and set it down in St. Louis. Your net profit would be increased.

Here's Why:

In St. Louis you would be located at the center.

St. Louis reaches markets in all directions with a straight-line haul and direct service.

Raw materials are available with a short haul, and are manufactured close to their source.

Your fuel costs would be lowered.

You would save long-haul freight costs to and from your plant.

You would save time in assembling the materials, and save time in making deliveries.

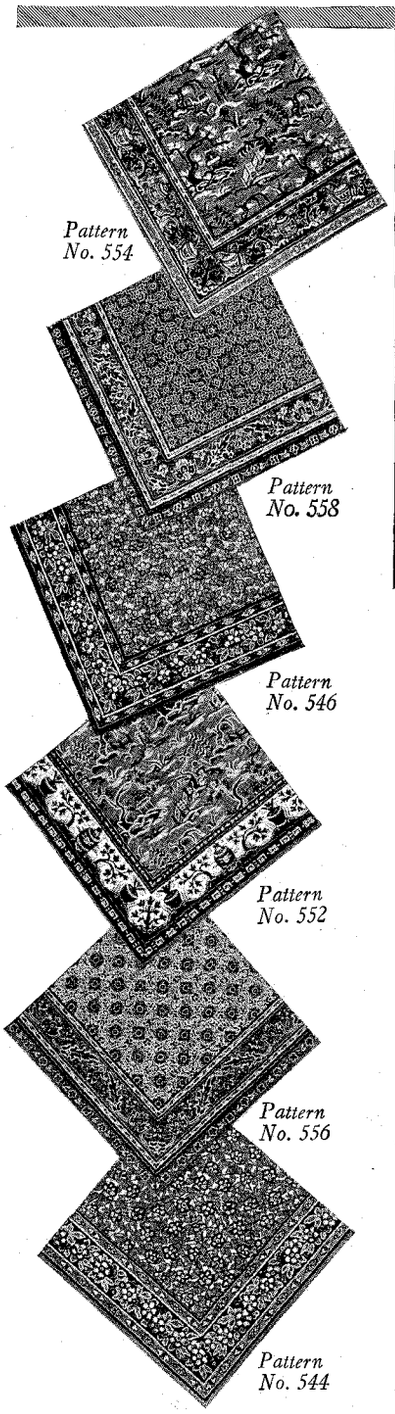
Distribution is a matter of geography. Location at the center is a distinct advantage. St. Louis manufacturers ***Ship From the Center—Not the Rim.***

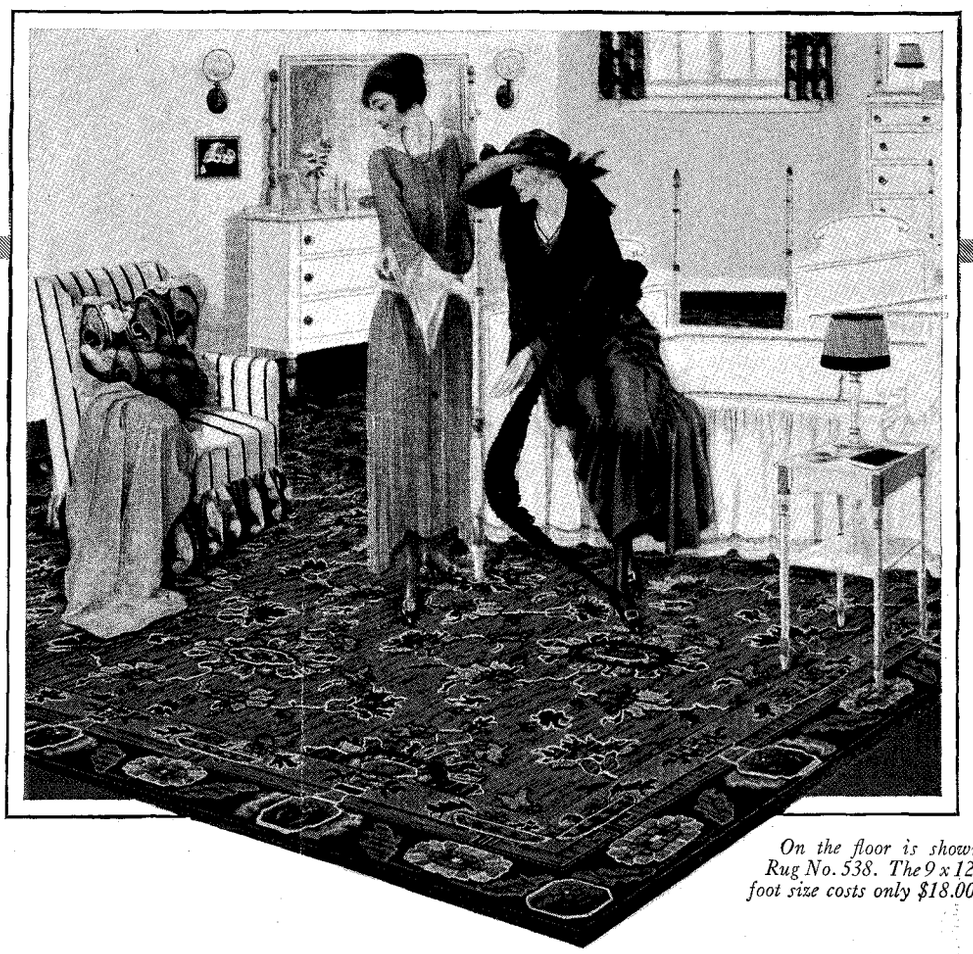
"St. Louis as a Manufacturing Center" tells the story. This booklet is free. Send for it.

ST. LOUIS CHAMBER of COMMERCE
St. Louis, U.S.A.

PRESS OF WILLIAM GREEN

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED





On the floor is shown Rug No. 538. The 9 x 12-foot size costs only $18.00.

Six New Designs in Congoleum Rugs—

Variety of artistic designs has always been one of the outstanding reasons for the popularity of Congoleum Rugs. The six new designs, shown at the left, further increase that variety. They prove that colorful beauty in rugs is not limited to high-priced floor-coverings.

A quaint charm distinguishes the Chippendale designs—numbers 552 and 554. These patterns represent the newest notes in rug designing and until now have been found only in the most expensive rugs.

Patterns number 544 and 546 are all-over floral effects that lend daintiness to any bedroom. The motifs of numbers 556 and 558 were taken from an antique rug now on exhibit in the British Museum.

Ask your dealer to let you see these latest Congoleum designs. He will also have on display many other patterns in color combinations that are appropriate for any room.

The waterproof surface of Congoleum Rugs is smooth and firm—never catches dust and needs only a few strokes of a damp mop by way of cleaning. In addition, they lie flat without fastening.

Note the Low Prices

6 ft. x 9 ft. $ 9.00	9 ft. x 9 ft. $13.50
7½ ft. x 9 ft. 11.25	9 ft. x 10½ ft. 15.75
9 ft. x 12 ft. $18.00	

The patterns illustrated are made in the five large sizes only. The small rugs are made in designs to harmonize with them.

1½ ft. x 3 ft. $ .60	3 ft. x 4½ ft. $1.95
3 ft. x 3 ft. 1.40	3 ft. x 6 ft. 2.50

Owing to freight rates, prices in the South and west of the Mississippi are higher than those quoted.

CONGOLEUM COMPANY
INCORPORATED
Philadelphia New York Boston Chicago Kansas City
San Francisco Atlanta Minneapolis Dallas Pittsburgh
New Orleans London Paris Rio de Janeiro
In Canada—Congoleum Canada Limited....Montreal

"Congoleum" is a registered trade name and the exclusive property of Congoleum Company, Inc. If you want "Congoleum" ask for it by name and don't fail to look for the Gold Seal.

Gold Seal
CONGOLEUM
ART-RUGS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED